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URTEEN YEARS A JESUIT

COUNT VON HOENSBROECH

Translated by
ALICE ZIMMERN

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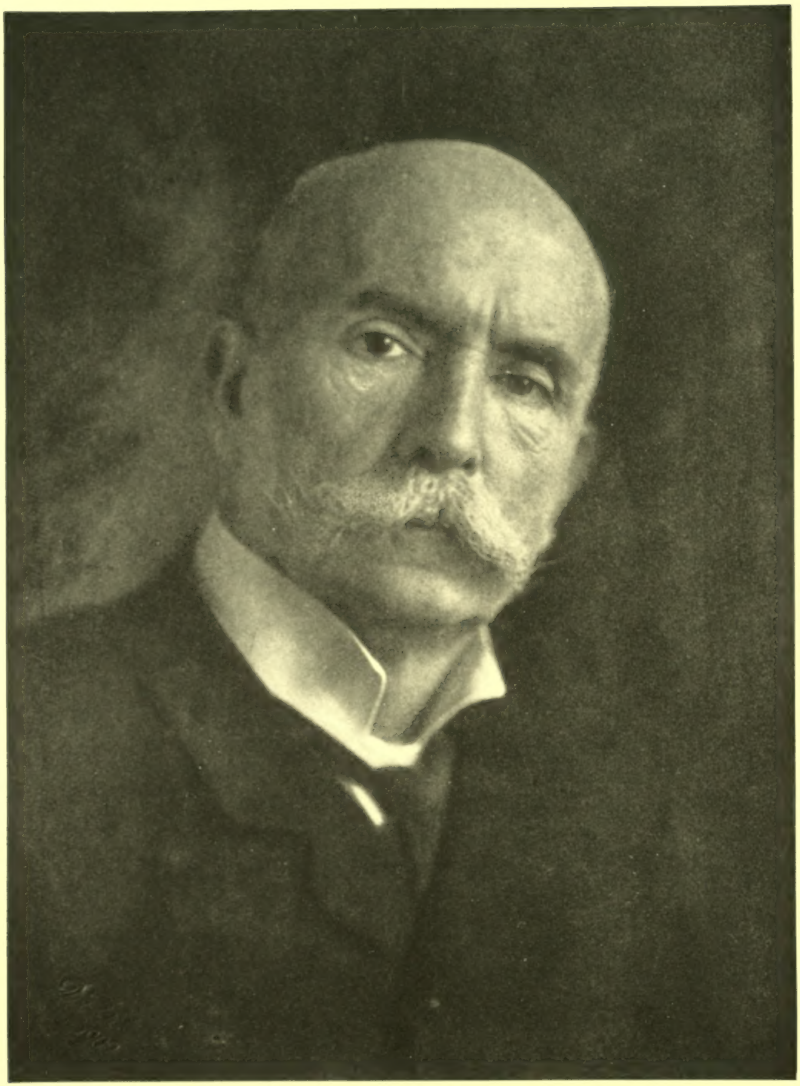

COUNT PAUL VON HOENSBROECH

FOURTEEN YEARS A JESUIT

A Record of Personal Experience and a Criticism

BY

COUNT PAUL VON HOENSBROECH

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN BY

ALICE ZIMMERN

(Girton College, Cambridge)

VOLUME I

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TO MY WIFE

At your side, and under your gentle yet firm influence, a new life has arisen in me on the ruins of the old.

With courage and a loving devotion that shrank from no sacrifice, you joined your fate to mine in despite of the hard and tormenting difficulties that towered like mountains before you.

It was you who strengthened my power of endurance and increased my joy in creation. It was your wise judgment that watched over my labours. All that I have attained in face of a world of difficulties, is, in part, your work.

That is why love and gratitude that will endure till death dedicate to you this book of my life.

" I will answer also my part, I also will shew mine opinion. For I am full of matter, the spirit within me constraineth me. Behold, my belly is as wine which hath no vent; it is ready to burst like new bottles. I will speak, that I may be refreshed."—Job xxxii. 17–20.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

THE translation here offered to English readers is slightly abridged in certain portions. The main omissions in Volume I. are an excursus by Professor Morgenstern on the Latinity of the Jesuit Order; a correspondence between the Jesuit General and the Austrian Minister of Education in regard to Austrian schools; and a "Retrospect" by the Author, intended as a conclusion to Volume I., which was published separately in Germany, some months before the appearance of Volume II. In Volume II. the chapters on "Abuses in the Jesuit Order," and on the "Suppression of the Order," have been omitted, as well as a few of the very numerous quotations from Jesuit writers, particularly in the chapter on "Jesuit Morality." A few notes and explanations of Roman Catholic customs which are also Anglican have been omitted, and two or three translator's notes inserted at points which might puzzle the English reader.

The translations from the Latin have been made from the Antwerp and Prague editions of the *Institute*, as the Roman edition, which is usually quoted in the references, does not appear to be in the British Museum or the Cambridge University Library. For the loan of the Antwerp edition I have to thank the Librarian of

Dr. Williams' Library. Quotations from English works are copied from the originals, and in the case of Taunton's "History of the Jesuits in England" I acknowledge the courtesy of Messrs. Methuen & Co., Limited, in allowing the use of extracts from that work.

I am indebted to the courtesy of Count Hoensbroech for explanation of a few difficult points, and some help in the correction of proofs.

ALICE ZIMMERN.

London, 1911.

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INTRODUCTION

On the 4th of November, 1878, at half-past four in the afternoon, I crossed the threshold of the novitiate house of the German province of the Society of Jesus at Exaeten, near Roermond, in Holland, to announce my intention of joining the Order.

On the 16th of December, 1892, at half-past twelve in the afternoon, I crossed the threshold of the same house, to leave the Society of Jesus and the Roman Catholic Church for ever.

What motives led me to take the first step, and what the last?

To these questions this book will supply the answer. Between these steps lies a whole world—at any rate for me. Within it are comprised religious enthusiasm, lofty idealism, and complete disenchantment; religious despair and the very depths of pessimism; ardent faith and stubborn unbelief; spiritual struggles, self-denial, verging on self-annihilation, suffering that penetrated the very marrow of my being, stabbing me to the quick and crushing me as with the weight of a millstone; the sweat of anguish and the night vigil; penance and scourgings; the whole inner and outer being trodden under foot; and at last a struggle for freedom like that of a suffocating man for air.

Even before I took these two steps a whole world lay behind me—the world in which I was born and educated, my own surroundings, my family, my class; the world in which I grew to boyhood, youth and manhood.

On both these worlds I wish to throw light. I shall describe both, because they belong together as cause and effect.

The first part of the book deals with my early life and the Ultramontane Catholic world in which I grew up, and describes my life down to the time of my entering the Society of Jesus. This is a necessary part of a book written by me about the Jesuit Order, for its influence upon me dates from my earliest youth, and continues without interruption. The second part, which describes my life in the Order, while constantly referring to my own personal experiences, gives fundamental and systematic information concerning the Jesuit Order, with the omission only of its systems of instruction and education. With these I deal in Chapters III.–VI., in my account of the Jesuit training establishment at Feldkirch, which I entered at ten and left at seventeen years of age.

My book is essentially of a personal character, since it describes my life down to my fortieth year.

Yet it is also impersonal, for he who writes it to-day is in the strictest sense no longer the man whose experiences are described. Were it indeed possible for a man to retain the consciousness of his individuality and yet become a different person, I could assert that in my case this apparent psychological impossibility had been achieved.

The years that have elapsed since the 16th of December, 1892, have transformed me into a new being—new in thought, feeling, and action. Fresh springs of knowledge and conduct arose in me which, gradually increasing from a few scanty drops to a full stream, washed away my old self till not a trace of it remained. When I look back over the forty years of my life before 1892 I behold a stranger.

The history of my transition from one being to another is a story full of instructive detail. The influence of education, the immense power of old and inherited prejudices, the tyranny of a misinterpreted religious system, are disclosed in the telling. But along with these stands revealed the elemental, even creative, power of a personal consciousness which has reawakened to freedom in and through the strength of that freedom itself. A mechanical being, fashioned by traditions of family and creed, was transformed into an individuality: a man who, after decades of dependence, developed a consciousness of his own, who after forty years of bondage attained the right and capacity to rule and to guide his own destiny, who passed from self-annihilation to self-accentuation, and won back for himself his lost—or, rather, unrecognised—self, his innermost being, his own true nature. The slave perished, and the free man began to live.

My physical youth was gone, but at the age of thirty-nine my intellectual youth began to put forth shoots which are still growing. I became young in mind, and this made me a new being. When I was young in years I was weighted with an old age, a load of centuries of thought, judgments, and feelings. Now, in my actual old age, "I plough new lands":

> "The old gives way, and time beholds his changes,
> New life arises from the ruined old."*

In my case these words have been actually fulfilled. Therefore this book is both personal and impersonal; it is also fundamental.

I do not propose to set forth the outward events of my life in the order of their occurrence. It is that on which they are based, their fundamental significance, that I wish to emphasise. The particular spot where I stood

* Schiller, *Wilhelm Tell*, Act IV. Sc. 2.

at any time, and the exact manner of my life there, are comparatively unimportant; the essential is the reason why I stood there and lived thus.

Everything I say about the Jesuit Order is my exclusive property, because it gives the experience of my own mind and body during fourteen long years, and because my judgment rests exclusively on my personal experience. What I state is my own opinion of the Jesuit Order. Though I make some use of material supplied by others, where it is of value, the judgment drawn from it is my own. I belonged to the Order long enough not to need the judgment of others when I write about Jesuits and their system.

An enormous amount of literature on the Jesuits has been published by friends and foes; and the mass of books and treatises, articles and pamphlets, contains a great deal that is valueless—unmerited praise, unmerited blame, exaggerations of good as well as of evil, fabrications now on this side, now on that. I have no intention of sifting this accumulation. But undoubtedly my book will sweep away much that has been copied and re-copied by a whole series of critics, along with the lies that have been coined for and against the Society.

Fifteen years have gone by since I burst the bonds of the Order, and bade farewell to the creed and family in which I was born. Long enough surely to enable me to form an objective judgment. But though my judgment is impartial, its expression will not be dispassionate, for passion only dims our vision and weakens our judgment when it takes possession of us before the object has been grasped by our vision and understanding. When we have recognised and understood, then we may call in its aid. Indeed, it would be well if convictions were more frequently upheld with passion. There would be less uncertainty, weakness, and insincerity in the world. Many a good

book would not have missed its effect had it been written with more of passion.

How, indeed, would it be possible to write dispassionately about that which has stirred our souls to their depths ? The aim of these pages is to show the part the Jesuit Order played at every epoch of my life from my earliest youth to the ripeness of manhood ; the harm it caused and the good it brought me ; the havoc it wrought in my soul, and the edifice it erected there. To tell all this without passion is beyond the bounds of possibility.

For what did not my religion and my family signify to me ! To both I was bound by traditions reaching back for more than eight centuries ; the life of both pulsed through my blood ; I clung to them with every fibre of my whole burning heart. Yet both of these I was forced to leave for ever, to break down every bridge and plank that stretched between us. How would it be possible to think and speak of such a parting without passion ? The man who could dispassionately describe his highest and deepest experiences, the shattering of an old world ardently loved for a whole generation and the building up of a new one, must have a stone in place of a heart.

My book has been written entirely from memory. I have no notes on which to base it. Before I entered the Society I only kept a diary when travelling, and this is of no value for my development. While in the Order I made a number of valuable notes, but I brought none of them away when I left it. At that time I thought I was right in so acting, but I now regret it.

These notes which I left behind dealt with the Ascetic Discipline, Learning, and Constitution of the Order.

The notes on the Discipline, which began with the first day of my novitiate, showed the development of my inner religious life under its ascetic influence, and more particularly of the Annual Exercises (*exercitia spiritualia*). They

also contained statements as to my own spiritual activity in the Order when preaching, hearing confessions, and conducting Exercises and popular missions. This work was done in England, Holland, and Germany. My notes on the Learning treated of my own humanistic, philosophic, and theological studies, and the examinations which concluded each section, as well as my literary contributions to the periodical, *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, written after the completion of my seven years' course of study. My notes on the Constitution of the Order were copies of the Instructions (*instructiones*) which I received during the first and second as well as the third or last probationary year (*tertius annus probationis*), concerning the spirit and constitution of the Order from the Master of the Novices, Father Meschler and the "Instructor" of the tertiate, Father Oswald. These Instructions were exceedingly valuable on account of their official as well as their intimate character. I can only express my lively—though, alas, unavailing—regret at no longer possessing them. For, if published, they would afford the deepest, because most authentic, insight hitherto available into the inner life of the Jesuit Order. Yet even the Instructions did not supply the very last word, because they were meant for all tertians, *i.e.* all persons in their third year of probation, whether destined for the grade of coadjutor or professed. And only the professed—and among these only the thrice sifted—become true initiates. Valuable material, also left behind when I left the Order, was contained in a number of letters addressed to me by the General, Antonius Maria Anderledy, by Father Hövel, for many years his assistant, and Father Ratgeb, at that time my Provincial. These I received in the course of my Jesuit training. Several particularly interesting letters were written me by the General and Father Ratgeb during my stay in Berlin in 1889. Still, there is a good deal in the

letters bearing an intimate character and referring to persons (members of the Order or public characters) which I should not have published, however characteristic they might have been of the mode of direction within the Society, and the method of judging public affairs on the part of its superiors (General and Provincials).

I am thus without any written basis for the long period of forty years, with all I experienced in their course. There may, therefore, be small errors in dates, names and places. I can no longer recall in every detail the external life of the Society, the daily routine, the arrangement of studies, and many single incidents. But the account as a whole is in no way affected by this.

Nor is this a book written with a didactic purpose. My object is to tell my own experiences, to set down the thoughts that arise in my own soul. Standing as I do in the last third of my strange life, I feel the need of looking back and setting down for myself and others that which I have beheld.

Nor yet is it meant as an attack—at least, not a calculated one. Its effect as such is due not to me, but to the inner and outward circumstances which it records.

Neither is it a polemic in the ordinary sense. I do not deliberately explain my views to opponents or friends of the Roman Church or the Jesuit Order, to persons whose point of view and conception of the universe differ from mine. Whenever I do this I am compelled to it by the exposition of my own views.

Only in dealing with the literature of the Jesuit Order do I depart from this rule. Jesuit literature is the exponent of the Jesuit system. To pass it by without drawing the sword is impossible where the aim is to unmask the Jesuit spirit.

Fourteen Years a Jesuit

PART I

THE ULTRAMONTANE WORLD IN WHICH I WAS BORN AND EDUCATED

CHAPTER I

HOME AND PARENTS

THE castle of Haag, my childhood's home, lies on the pleasant banks of the Niers in the Rhenish-Prussian district of Guelders.

Meadows, fields, and woods, intersected by ponds and streams, surround the massive building with its four flanking turrets. A broad moat, the remains of old drawbridges, portholes, gloomy dungeons with armour, chains, instruments of torture and executioners' blocks, an array of helmets, cuirasses, and swords, everything here recalled wild, warlike days, stories of knightly deeds and baronial feuds.

How often, as we played among those roomy buildings, was the departed world re-peopled by the boy's imagination!

The castle offered a wide field for memory and fantasy. There was the "Emperor's Room," a large and lofty chamber, adorned with wood-carvings and costly tapestries from designs by Rubens, in which Frederick the Great, Napoleon I., the Tsar Nicholas I. of Russia, and later

the Emperor William I. had spent the night—this last on two occasions, as Regent and as King. From its walls hung ancient works of art, pictures by celebrated masters, innumerable portraits of ancestors with their legends and history, and weapons of every description. Then there was the great dining-hall, decked with white and gold, hung with tapestries representing stories from Roman history, with its pictures over the folding doors, and mirrors of Austrian emperors and Prussian kings. There was jewellery set with diamonds and other precious stones which my mother wore on great occasions, old plate which adorned the gala board, and in the castle chapel a shrine with honoured relics of apostles, martyrs, and saints, even reputed fragments of the Cross of Christ, and an authenticated imitation of one of the nails used at the Crucifixion.

All these objects, connected for centuries with the destinies of my family, made a powerful impression on my youthful mind, and filled me with religious and historic traditions which turned my thoughts and ideas into one definite direction.

Haag Castle was not the ancestral seat of my family. It was a marriage in the sixteenth century that brought it to us along with several other estates. Our own ancestral castle, Hoensbroech, a structure of remarkable grandeur and beauty, is situated in what is now the Dutch province of Limburg, between Aix and Maestricht. In olden times the castle and dominion of Hoensbroech belonged to the Duchy of Juliers. My family is therefore not of Dutch but of very ancient German origin. Even at the fatal battle of Worringen on the 5th of June, 1288, when Duke John of Brabant conquered Count Reinold of Guelders, and the Archbishop of Cologne, Siegfried von Westerburg, was taken prisoner, two knights of the name of Hoensbroech fought and fell.

I was born on the 29th of June, 1852, the festival of SS. Peter and Paul. My father was Franz Egon, Count of the Empire and Marquis of Hoensbroech, Hereditary Marshal of the Duchy of Guelders, Privy Councillor of the Kingdom of Prussia, Honorary Officer and Grand Cross Knight of Malta. He died on the 19th of December, 1874. My mother was Matilda, Countess and Marchioness of Hoensbroech, *née* Baroness von Loë. She died on the 19th of December, 1903. Both my parents belonged to the old school of nobility, with all its simplicity, dignity, and the sense of *noblesse oblige*. In their eyes it was character and not the accident of birth or title that gave the true stamp of nobility. In intellect both were far above the average; and their interests were numerous, though limited, as I must afterwards show, by their extreme ultramontane views.

My father only remains in my remembrance as a blind man. During his residence at Berlin in 1849, on the occasion of the "United Diet," he was afflicted with an eye trouble which, in spite of all Professor Gräfe's skill, led to permanent blindness. It was probably due to this cause, as well as to his deliberate manner, which found expression in a countenance recalling that of Napoleon, that we children never learnt to know him intimately, and that, in spite of all our love and reverence, there was never anything like familiarity between us.

This blindness, which overtook him in the full vigour of his manhood, must have been a severe trial to an energetic man like my father, whose position, ability, and the respect that he enjoyed on all hands would naturally have secured him a wide field of activity. Though compelled to renounce almost everything, we never heard him utter a word of complaint. With a calm and equable self-control he endured the inevitable, and submitted to the heavy fetters which his blindness laid on body and

spirit. His own strong character was naturally suited to endurance, and his burden was lightened by the wonderful devotion and inexhaustible affection of my mother; yet there is no doubt that the main source of his strength lay in his religion, which he embraced in what I can only call a masculine spirit, as an ancient family inheritance.

Indeed, there was nothing sentimental about "the Marquis," as he was universally called; even his religion had a certain hardness. It was to him principle, law, and the tradition of centuries. In spite of his remarkable intelligence, I doubt whether it ever occurred to him that religion must be a possession freely acquired; that to it above all the saying applies:

> "And what thy fathers handed down of old,
> That earn, that thou mayst truly call it thine."*

No; in my father's eyes religion was something handed down by our fathers. That was decisive for him. He had no thought of earning what he had inherited. Just as he clung resolutely to other family traditions, so he regarded the inherited trust of his religion as an entail to be maintained whole and entire, as it had been handed down to him. I do not wish to imply that he was not genuinely religious; but the emotions of his heart were only an accompaniment and addition. The iron bond which united him to the Catholic Church was tradition.

It was tradition that led him every evening to preside over his whole household in the castle chapel, and himself recite the rosary; which sent him almost every Sunday to the parish church at Guelders, though he might have heard the obligatory mass in his own chapel, and led him every year, till he reached extreme old age, during the octave of the "Assumption of the Virgin," to march for

* Goethe, *Faust*, I., Soliloquy.

two hours in all weathers with the procession from Guelders to the shrine at Kevelaer, and kneel down amid the crowd in the public street before the miraculous image. I can only repeat that a critical examination of religion was a thing unknown to my father.

How closely he clung to tradition in religious matters a slight incident may show. In the first year of my residence at the Jesuit school at Feldkirch I had learnt to say the Ave Maria in Latin. Now the Latin, *i.e.* the official, text differs from the German in use in my home, and, indeed, elsewhere in Germany, in the omission of the word "poor" before "sinners" which occurs in the German (*ora pro nobis peccatoribus*). On one occasion, when I was driving out with my parents in the holidays, we said the rosary, as was our frequent custom, and I, literally translating the official Latin, omitted the word "poor." In answer to my father's question as to why I did so, I replied, with true schoolboy pride, that this was the correct form according to the Latin text. But he would not hear of it; we had always said "Pray for us poor sinners," and must continue to do so.

This adherence to tradition is, indeed, a characteristic of Catholics in general, and especially of the nobility. They are born Catholics, they have inherited Catholicism; that suffices.

How many a time have I since been bitterly reproached by my relations for abandoning my inherited religion, and thus sinning against the "traditions" of my family! In my present view—and would it had been mine for thirty years and more!—religion has nothing to do with inheritance and family tradition. Among all a man's possessions, religion is the most individual, that which most needs winning by personal activity. Unless it proceed from this source, it is the husk without the kernel. The more marks of past centuries the kernel shows, the more must the

religion identified with it bear the character of something petrified and benumbed, the fetish of a family or caste.

This theory of religious heredity and prescription has penetrated even into the ranks of orthodox Protestantism. Hence its spiritual and religious numbness; hence the tendency in these circles to look back rather than forward. Soon after my breach with the Roman Church I made the acquaintance in Heligoland of the late Count Finckenstein-Madlitz, one of the ultra-Conservative members of the Upper House. In one of our first conversations he told me how hard he found it to get over the circumstance that I had broken with "the religion of my forefathers." My reply was: "But what about your ancestor, who turned Protestant and thus brought you and your whole family over to that faith?" To this he could give no answer.

I never really understood my father's political views. The reason is, perhaps, that he never talked confidentially with us in our childhood, and at the time of his death I was only twenty-two. The papers which were read aloud to him were the Catholic *Kölnische Blätter* (now *Kölnische Volkszeitung*), the ultra-Ultramontane French journals, *L'Univers* and *Le Bien Public*, and the *Kreuzzeitung*. The reason for the admission into our house of this orthodox Protestant journal was its reputation as the aristocratic paper *par excellence*. This was probably the only concession made by my father to a narrow class prejudice. And he found it hard enough, for the paper had a Protestant flavour, and I am sure that it was with a light heart that he at last agreed to give it up.

His reason and manner of doing this are so characteristic of the antipathy to everything Protestant which still prevails in Catholic circles that they are worth recording.

It was the custom of our friend and relation, Count Caius zu Stolberg-Stolberg (son of the poet Friedrich

Leopold zu Stolberg-Stolberg, who had gone over to Catholicism), to pay us a week's visit every year with his whole family. They all had the true convert's hatred of Protestantism, combined with a dislike of everything connected with Prussia and Berlin. How often have I heard old Count Caius, my godfather, speak of William I. as "that hardened old sinner"! Now the Stolbergs were horrified at always finding in our house this Protestant and Prussian paper. On one occasion the fanatical daughters set upon my father, with the support of my mother, and came off victorious. A copy of the *Kreuzzeitung* was twisted into human shape, suspended from the chandelier of the "White Room," and solemnly burnt. In this way the *Kreuzzeitung* vanished from the list of the papers to which my father subscribed. There is something of the inquisitor and heretic-burner in every Ultramontane Catholic, especially in the recluse nobility, and most of all in their female relatives. The words, "Ye blessed flames of the pyre,"* are not a mere aberration of a fanatical Romish editor, but a cry of the heart, conscious or unconscious, low or loud, that springs in every ultramontane bosom.

My father was prevented by his blindness from taking any public part in politics. Whether he belonged to the Centre, or rather, would have belonged to it, since the Centre was only just forming at the time of his death, I cannot say. In the struggle with Rome (*Kulturkampf*) which was just beginning, he was, of course, to be found on the side of his inherited religion.

That he was loyal to his King and his hereditary Prince there can be no doubt. But I feel less certain about his affection for the Protestant Royal Family of Prussia. Frederick William IV. was most gracious to him; even

* From *Analecta Ecclesiastica*, a journal published at Rome under Papal auspices, January, 1895.

more so William I. and Queen Augusta, who treated him with especial favour. In return it seems to me he gave them dutiful loyalty, but not affection. On one occasion, when Queen Augusta telegraphed from Coblence to announce a visit for the following day, my father had the horses put in at once and took us all away to one of his estates just across the neighbouring Dutch frontier. A telegram was then sent to the Court Marshal to the effect that the family was away from home.

Here is another characteristic circumstance. Count Hompesch, afterwards so well known as leader of the Centre and for many years President of the Centre group in the Reichstag (died 1909), was often a guest at our house. Always a witty and amusing talker, his best stories related to his experiences as chamberlain to the Queen-Empress Augusta, who favoured him particularly as her travelling companion. He had a store of entertaining anecdotes about her, and we never could stop laughing at the expense of these exalted personages. For instance: the Empress was at Baden-Baden, and wanted to travel incognito to Geneva. A telegram was sent to the Emperor William at Ems: "May I go to Geneva?" Answer: "Go." From Geneva the Empress wished to go to Turin. Another telegram, and the same answer: "Go." And so again and again, till at last, according to the Hompesch account, the concluding telegram was worded, "Go to the deuce!" During the *Kulturkampf* a nunnery at Coblence was threatened with dissolution. The Empress, who was particularly fond of these nuns, begged the Emperor to avert their doom. He said it was impossible. Thereupon the Empress: "William, if the nuns do not remain at Coblence, I shall always remain with you." The nuns remained!

In all the Rhenish-Westphalian noble families, with

very few exceptions, there was—and probably still is—an anti-Prussian feeling which at times, especially in 1866, came strongly into evidence. The real cause was the antagonism between Catholicism and Protestantism. Their hearts inclined towards Catholic Austria, and even Napoleonic France. A great many noble families allowed their sons, in spite of considerable annoyance from the authorities at home, to become officers in the Austrian army; and scions of Catholic Prussian nobility, closely related to me (Wolff-Metternich, Westphalen, Schmising-Kerssenbrock, and others), served in the Austrian army against Prussia in 1866.

This dislike of Prussia, so characteristic of the Catholic portions of the Rhinelands and Westphalia, was common to all classes and grades. Many a time, when out riding or hunting, I have asked a peasant or farmer where his son was, and received the typical answer, "With the Prussians"—*i.e.* he is serving his time in the army. In the eyes of the Catholic Rhinelanders and Westphalians, the Protestant Prussians were foreigners, if not actual enemies, although they had been united to them for nearly two hundred years.

Even to this day, the anti-Prussian feeling survives among Catholics, and at times manifests itself with great violence. On the occasion of an election trial before the Court at Trèves, on the 1st of April, 1908, the Catholic Pastor, Leinen, from the village of Orscholz in the district of Trêves, was reported to have said: "I hate all Prussians, from the Emperor downward! I am no Prussian, but a Rhinelander, and our country did not belong to Prussia in former times."*

There is no doubt that in Ultramontane Catholicism it is the resemblance or difference of creed that determines the degree of affection for dynasty and country.

* *Kölnische Zeitung* of April 3, 1908.

My father never went to the university. He entered the army early, and afterwards undertook the management of the family estates. Still, he was highly educated, though on Catholic lines. He had a number of books and magazines read aloud to him, but only those of an ultramontane stamp were allowed in the house. Among these were *Historisch-politische Blätter*, the Jesuit *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, and a great many bigoted and one-sided journals. Non-Catholic and Liberal Catholic writings were excluded. In spite of all this, his interest in questions of the day kept my father from mental torpor. His blindness was illumined by an active intellectual life, based on the literature, art, and science of Ultramontane Catholicism.

It was, indeed, this culture which marked him off so advantageously from many other members of his class in Rhenish Westphalia, who, even at the end of last century, were for the most part distinguished by their ignorance. Very few young nobles even matriculated. Some of my cousins are unable to write the simplest letter correctly. Nowadays things are improving. Even the "Junker" of the Western Elbe has come to realise that education is one of the needs of the day. My father was always convinced of this, and therefore insisted that his sons should devote themselves seriously to study.

Side by side with my father was always my never-to-be-forgotten mother, the soul, light, and spirit of the house. She possessed all the graces that make a woman honoured and loved. Beautiful, clever, wise, a devoted and self-sacrificing wife and mother, of heroic strength in grievous trials, as shown at the dying beds of her husband and seven children, she was held in honour by all who knew her. Only my blind father could know all her devotion, but even we children guessed and felt that she was everything to him, just as she was to each of us till the last breath of her long and sorrowful life.

As I write these words her beloved picture stands on my writing-table and inspires me with longing for this unrivalled mother and her inexhaustible love. Yes, and also with the sad consciousness that it was I who inflicted the deepest wound on her heart when I left the Jesuit Order and broke with the Catholic Church.

Though she had no desire to govern, it was she, in point of fact, who ruled the house. Though outwardly my father was the centre of everything, in reality the work was hers. It was she who gave its stamp to our family life in all its relations. Never opposing her husband nor acting without him, she yet supplied the initiative and standard to this strong-willed man with the imperial countenance.

I wish I could give a faithful appreciation of my mother. Her nature was not a simple one, for her main characteristics were intellectual nobility and an absolutely unlimited power of self-abnegation. But from this basis sprang variety and even opposition. Of a warm, passionate temperament, she yet had a clear vision, with good reasoning power and presence of mind. She combined kindness with harshness, candour with diplomatic calculation. She had an unlimited capacity for loving, with a corresponding faculty for disliking; and had her religion permitted her to hate, she would have been a good hater of many things and many people. Though a *grande dame* in society, she knew how to touch the hearts of the lowest, and was a true mother to the poor and needy. Naturally gentle, she was yet no stranger to wrath. Kind and loving in consolation, she was severe, even cutting, in blame. But her whole being, in all its harmonies and discords, was dominated by a perfect self-control which never failed in her outer bearing, nor, I believe, in her inmost being.

Still, the true essence, the dominant note of her nature, its very base and source, were to be sought in her religion.

Her Catholicism was so distinctive, so complete and passionate, that her thoughts, feelings, and acts were filled and penetrated with it. In a word, she was an Ultramontane Catholic.

What this means no one can understand who is not himself a Catholic. No other religion takes such complete possession of a man's whole being, because no other makes such demands on understanding, heart, feelings, senses, instincts, and impulses, body and soul, outer and inner life, nor penetrates so deeply into the very marrow of his being. Not every Catholic is a whole Catholic; even among good Catholics there are grades of completeness. In the whole Catholic the man is absorbed in the Catholic.

Catholicism abounds in heights, depths, grandeurs, and elevations, mountain summits whence may be seen religious and mystical vistas into metaphysical domains of fantastic beauty. Such are the Catholic doctrines concerning God, Salvation, and the Sacraments, which, in spite of their objective untruth, captivate the mind and heart like beautiful legends and symbolic pictures. But it also abounds in doctrines that are narrow, petty, absurd, and revolting, abysmal depths of irreligion and ignorance. Such are the highly developed belief in the devil with all its horror and folly, the whole farrago of indulgences, scapulars, pilgrimages, and relics, and much else that is in violent opposition to common sense and common feeling. In a word, Catholicism includes religious and ethical contradictions such as are nowhere else to be found.

Yet the "whole" Catholic does not recognise them. In his eyes the sublime and elevating, and the absurd and degrading, are alike Catholic; in his daily life he makes no distinction between dogma, *i.e.* that which is absolute, and that which is not dogma, but only relative. All that the Church tolerates in the wide domain of inner

and outer life, in doctrine and form, in prayer and pious practices, is in his eyes good, beautiful, religious; and he loses himself in it, convinced that he is breathing the spirit of God and Christ in the depths as well as on the heights.

Such an one was my mother. There was nothing against which her intellect revolted so long as it bore the ecclesiastical hall-mark. She belonged to an endless number of fraternities, she wore and made us wear every sort of scapular and consecrated medal. The lives of the saints, crammed with the most amazing stories of revelations, visions, apparitions, ghosts, and devils, were regarded by her as devotional books. Among those she especially honoured were the "Revelations of St. Brigitta of Sweden," "Life of the Honourable Maid Anna Maria Taigi," "Revelations of the Blessed Catharine of Emmerich," "Revelations of the Blessed Maria Margareta Alakoque," books abounding in the crudest superstition, but approved by the Church. Even religious "literature," such as the monthly *Messenger of the Sacred Heart of Jesus*, whose wonderful stories of miracles and answers to prayer made the most incredible things seem commonplace, and other publications of the same description, were among the favourite reading of my highly intellectual mother.

In her medicine cupboard there stood, side by side with ordinary ointments and drugs, bottles of the miraculous water from La Salette, Lourdes, and the Ignatius water, so called from the founder of the Jesuit Order, and the oils of SS. Walburga and Apollinaris. These miraculous remedies were applied for sickness and injuries in the same way as court-plaster, camomile tea, or boric ointment. I remember distinctly how my father, when he lay unconscious from a stroke on his dying bed, was anointed again and again by my mother with St. Walburga's oil. During

thunderstorms she lighted a "consecrated" taper in the chapel to avert the lightning. Ordinary conductors of brass and copper wire were insufficient to protect the rambling buildings of my home with its turrets and lofty chimneys, but a consecrated taper and a prayer sufficed.

My mother's piety led her to even greater depths. The disgusting custom had been introduced from France into German Catholic circles of swallowing as remedies pictures of the Madonna printed on some soluble and harmless substance. These were sold in sheets like postage stamps, and my mother was among those who bought them and mixed them with her food and drink as well as ours.

Yet the Bible was very seldom in her hands. We children only saw it at religious lessons and divine service, when portions were read. We never saw it in our parents' house, and I cannot remember that my mother ever read it aloud to us, though she many a time read out portions of the above-mentioned "Revelations." This neglect of the Bible is typically Catholic, for Catholics go for teaching, help, and comfort not so much to the Scriptures as to the thousand books of devotion which the Catholic publishing world supplies in every shape and size. Non-biblical piety is an ordinary thing in Catholic circles. This is a matter to which I shall return later.

Still my mother's religious being was not entirely absorbed in such sordid ways, else, indeed, she would have degenerated into a creature of mere superstition instead of being, as she was, a woman of strong faith and courageous religion. Her faith and religion gave her a firm support against all the storms of life. Like all "whole" Catholics, she lived a religious double life, united into one by the bonds of ecclesiasticism and blind submission, which reconciled contradictions, elsewhere irreconcilable. This strange fact, with all its psychological mystery, of which

I was later to have experience in my own person, must also be dealt with elsewhere.

With unswerving fidelity and piety my mother obeyed the spirit and commands of her Church. Both in outward observance and in spirit she celebrated the whole of the Church year, with all its festivals and usages. Every other duty had to give way to religious duties, and in the fulfilment of these she thought no sacrifice too great. To her all pious observances—sacraments, prayers, masses, meditations, novenas, fasts, and penances—were the expressions of a real need. Instead of the yearly confession and communion enjoined by the Church, she confessed and communicated every week, and in later life even every day. She would often rise at earliest dawn and go alone on foot—no matter what the weather, in winter and summer alike—to the parish church at Guelders, though carriage and horses awaited her bidding, there to confess and communicate, if, owing to the absence or illness of the castle chaplain, there was no celebration in her own chapel. None of us guessed, when she afterwards presided at the family breakfast table, that she had been up since five o'clock, and taken this long walk in damp, cold, or heat.

While my father was a Catholic in intellect, my mother was devoted to religion with a passion that often amounted to fanaticism. The extremest demands of religious as of political Ultramontanism were those of her own heart. And since her Ultramontanism determined her politics too, she was anti-Prussian just as she was anti-Protestant. On two occasions she entertained William I. of Prussia with all becoming honour and splendour; many a time she sat at the table of the Empress-Queen Augusta, but her heart was never reconciled to the Protestant dynasty and kingdom of Prussia. There was no hypocrisy about her attitude; she merely submitted to existing circum-

stances. When opportunity offered she expressed her convictions in plain terms.

After my father's death (1874) the Emperor William sent my mother a telegram of condolence, which combined with genuine sympathy a gracious expression of regret for the reserved attitude he had shown towards the King during the last few years, *i.e.* since the beginning of the *Kulturkampf*. In her answer my mother expressed her dutiful thanks for the royal sympathy, but stated her emphatic conviction that my father, now that he had entered on eternal life, would be more than ever convinced that he had acted rightly.

All her political and religious dislike to Prussia was concentrated on the person of Bismarck. Had hate been permitted, she would have hated him. Ever since he overthrew Catholic Austria in 1866 he was, in her eyes, a persecutor of the Diocletian type. I am firmly convinced that if the King had desired to enter her house along with Bismarck she would have refused to receive the lord of the land. During the years of the *Kulturkampf* I heard her denounce Bismarck in terms that would have exposed her to certain condemnation for insulting his person. My father, too, was a rigid opponent of Bismarck. Owing to the difference in disposition, his dislike did not find as strong expression as my mother's, but there is no doubt that it was just as deep-rooted.

I must give one more instance of the political views of my parents and their antagonism to Bismarck. At the end of the 'fifties they went on several occasions to a little watering-place in the Taunus, Weilbach, near Frankfort-am-Main, and in 1858 and 1859 they took me with them. There was a good deal of intercourse between the visitors there and the diplomatic world of the Frankfort Federal Diet. It would have been natural that my parents, as Prussians, should have associated with the Prussian

deputy, Otto von Bismarck, but they took the greatest pains to avoid him; while the Austrian deputy, Baron von Kübeck, frequently visited them at Weilbach, and they in turn sought him out in Frankfort. I remember. too, that the French ambassador—whose name I cannot now recall—was often in the company of my parents.

Bismarck was, and remained, intensely disliked, if not hated, in our home. Not even his great achievement, the establishment of the German Empire, could moderate this feeling. I was the only member of the family who stood up for him, and in this, as in other respects, of which I must speak later, I differed from my surroundings and tradition.

This account of my parents must suffice for the present. In the course of my narrative opportunity will offer for the addition of other characteristics.

CHAPTER II

EARLY EDUCATION AND FAMILY LIFE

THE official beginning of the day in our home was the Mass in the family chapel, attended by masters and servants. Before this each individual had performed his own private devotions, on the regular observance of which my mother rigidly insisted. After Mass, which took place on weekdays at half-past seven and on Sundays at eight o'clock, came breakfast, often a lengthy meal, especially when guests were present, which, indeed, was almost always the case. At midday a bell, suspended from one of the turrets, rang the Angelus, and every one—my father as well as a groom or labourer—stood still, bared his head, and said the Angelus. One o'clock was dinner-time, before which members of the family and guests assembled in the "Cabinet" or the "White Room." At four o'clock we all took coffee together. At eight the bell again sounded for the Rosary, a private devotion at which my father said the rosary. This service concluded with the Litany of the Blessed Virgin, and the blessing spoken by the chaplain. Then followed supper, and the interval between this and bedtime was devoted to music, reading, and playing games, which often lasted till far into the night.

As long as we were little we were sent to bed early. Our mother said her prayers with us, and while she knelt on the faldstool we were grouped around her on the ground. It was a special privilege for one or other of us

to be allowed to kneel close beside her on the narrow praying stool. When we lay in our little beds this was the last prayer that she spoke as she bent over us:

"At evening, when I go to rest,
There guard me fourteen angels blest:
Two at my head,
Two at my feet,
Two at my right hand,
Two at my left hand,
Two to cover me,
Two to wake me,
Two to lead me to heavenly rest!"

Within this frame, in spite of its savour of church and cloister, there pulsed a gay and happy life. Looking back over the decades, the early days of boyhood and family life seem aglow with golden sunshine. Few children can have a brighter childhood than fell to my lot. It was my parents who gave the tone to the household; the dignity of their position and disposition filled our home with comfort, joy, and a fine hospitality.

Everything that a large country estate can supply was afforded by my old home and its family life. Luxury was excluded on principle, but there was excellence and plenty, giving and receiving, with no lack or stint.

I grew up among four brothers and four sisters. Such a number of children alone was sufficient to ensure a lively household; and house and yard, stable and garden, fields and woods, resounded with the life of happy childhood. Of course, we lived out of doors as much as in, and ranged in our games and wanderings through the whole neighbourhood. And as our house was the centre of a large circle of relations and friends, we had constant intercourse with families, for the most part related to us, on the neighbouring estates.

The monotony of ordinary life was varied by expe-

ditions on foot, horseback, or driving, visits to relations, picnics, hunting parties, and coffee at the farms (a special delight to us children). Visits often lasting several weeks were of frequent occurrence. So there was plenty of social life, and our long dinner-table was almost always lengthened still further, owing to the presence of guests.

But our society had one peculiarity—denominational exclusiveness. Protestants and non-Catholics were from our earliest childhood quite outside the pale of our lives. Except when the heads of the provincial government paid my parents official visits, there were, I fancy, but few occasions when a Protestant sat at our table, though many a convert to Catholicism was welcomed as a guest. Among these I may name Baron von Schrötter, Rochus von Rochow, Major of the 1st Prussian Regiment of Uhlan Guards, Michael von Michalowski, also an officer in the Prussian Guards, and Prince Alexander of Solms-Braunfels (step-brother of the last King of Hanover), who, at the end of a very stormy life, went over to Catholicism and married a kinswoman of mine, the Baroness of Landsberg-Steinfurt.

Of course, our life was not solely devoted to society, as is sufficiently proved by the daily routine already cited. We were kept hard at our studies by a tutor and governess, who taught us under the general supervision of my mother.

The pivot on which all the teaching revolved was religion, which exercised an almost indescribable influence over the whole of our outward and inward life. It was always present with us, not vaguely, nor yet as a mere human aid to education, working in conjunction with the hopes and ideas of another world. It was rather a supernatural force, closely linked about us, absolutely complete in every detail, which would tolerate no free and independent action, with a rule for every act, a formula for every idea, ready to direct—even dictate—every emotion of the soul.

The influence of this all-embracing, divine power working thus silently within us was not consciously recognised by us children, nor fully perhaps even by our elders, since we had all grown up in this ultramontane atmosphere, and lived and breathed in it without actually realising it. The religious conceptions familiar to us from the earliest awakening of our intelligence, beyond whose borders there was and could be no real and true religion, came to us by nature, not by learning or from without. They included every external observance which Ultramontane Catholicism demands of her votaries.

And how numerous were these! Our childish eyes, ears, lips, hands, knees, and feet were pressed into the service of religion from our very earliest years. Adoration of the Virgin, saints, and relics, the wearing of scapulars * and medals, the repetition of prescribed prayers, ritual observances (masses, meditations), took complete possession of us, and left no opportunity for individual religious action.

Yet I could not truthfully assert that all this struck me as in any way compulsory, unnatural, or exaggerated. Up to my tenth year, and even beyond, the Catholic sky above my head shone bright and cloudless, and my childish eyes looked devoutly upward to the lofty dome painted and adorned by the countless images and figures, gilded scrolls and gay arabesques, inseparable from the Romish religion, and without which Ultramontanism would lack both life and reality. My whole childish spirit entered

* A scapular consists of two pieces of woollen cloth, fastened together by string in such a way that the one falls over the breast, the other at the back between the shoulder-blades, while the strings lie on the shoulders. They must be of wool and woven, the colours are brown, blue, red, or white. With the wearing of these certain indulgences are connected. Special confraternities have been founded in connection with this practice. For a detailed account of the whole practice, see *Die Ablässe, ihr Wesen und Gebrauch*, by the Jesuit Beringer, Consultor of the Holy Congregation of the Indulgences (Paderborn, 1906), 13th edition, pp. 406 *et seq.*

unhesitatingly into the sensuous metaphysical world of Ultramontane Catholicism, and found contentment there.

How, indeed, could it have been otherwise? This world had been mine from the moment of birth, and everything about me, both great and small, pointed in one direction. The speech and example of my parents, the order of our day, my companions, and the members of our household, our intercourse at home and abroad, the principles and methods of our education, all that we heard and read, the nursery and drawing-room—none of these supplied even the tiniest loophole through which a ray from another world could have entered, or a breath of alien air blown upon us.

We boys were very early taught to "minister" at the daily Mass in our chapel, *i.e.* to perform the duties of the Mass attendant, on weekdays in a black cassock with red buttons, but on Sundays and festivals in scarlet robes with white lace-trimmed surplices. Before we understood a single word of Latin we recited the responses of the Latin Mass read by the officiating priest.

Only those who know the theatrical nature of this ceremony, with all its minutiæ, its liturgical utensils and vestments, its prayers recited now loudly, now in undertones, its gleam of tapers and ringing of bells, its mystical culmination in the transformation of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, can realise the impression it makes on the minds of children who actually participate in the celebration.

But even this participation in the Mass did not suffice for my mother. One Christmas we received as a present a "Mass-game," consisting of all the objects required for the celebration—an altar, vestments, missal, and all the utensils—chalice, wine- and water-cans, candlesticks and bell, which enabled us children to celebrate Mass in play, and occasionally to add to it a sermon. Even our sisters

put on the vestments, and, contrary to all discipline and dogma, said Mass and preached, in spite of the exhortation *Mulier taceat in ecclesia.* If other children came to visit us, we entertained them with a solemn service and choral High Mass, when our juvenile vivacity often led to drastic scenes between the officiating priests and the faithful congregation. As this " Mass-game " was not specially made for us, but was to be had by purchasing, it is probable that it is still played in many an ultramontane household.

Conceive of it: the very culmination of the Catholic religion, around which, in the words of theologians, all else revolves " as around the sun," the fearful mystery (*tremendum mysterium*), at whose celebration " worshipping angels attend," is turned into a children's game!

Does this not afford one more proof that ultramontane piety marches unsuspectingly over startling contrasts, making no distinction between the seemly and unseemly? Still, it also bears testimony to the energy which seeks to impress its piety on the earliest days of childhood.

The Mass at which we children ministered was read by the regular chaplains. They were, for the most part, good and worthy men, succeeding one another in this easy and agreeable position. But almost all had one characteristic—pride of position, emphasising the divine dignity of the priest.

Catholic priests, as a rule, come from the less cultivated classes; many of them are sons of peasants. If a peasant's son studies for the priesthood and receives consecration, he is regarded by his family as a higher being, who must be addressed by his father, mother, brothers and sisters as " Sir " and " Your Reverence "; his parents scarcely venture even to sit down beside their priestly son, and the " condescension " and " affability " which the consecrated son shows to his parents often assume a form

scarcely consistent with the fifth commandment or the dictates of good taste.

Of course, there was no scope for such condescension in our household. Still, the typical priestly conceit found other no less unpleasing ways of manifestation. One chaplain demanded to be served before anyone else, even my parents, on the ground that this was due to his position. With all reverence for the priestly dignity and their adhesion to the dogmatic mystic conceptions of the priesthood taught by Catholicism, my parents still retained the correct view that the priestly dignity was to be honoured on the domain of religion, and not at the dinner-table or in the drawing-room. They therefore consistently refused to allow this claim, thus arousing the annoyance and even the anger of the chaplain. Unfortunately, as will be shown, my parents departed from their correct attitude in the case of the higher grades of the hierarchy, such as bishops and cardinals.

Similar etiquette difficulties, springing from the same type of conceit, occurred on neighbouring estates, where there were chaplains in residence. One of these events may be described here, though it occurred much later. I had gone on a hunting expedition with my uncle, my mother's eldest brother, Count Max von Loë. After the last drive I accompanied him in an open carriage to his castle of Wissen, to spend the night. On the way we met two priests from a neighbouring village. Neither of them bowed to us. My uncle turned to me and said, "The stupid pride of these men! I am their chief benefactor. I pay many of them out of my own pocket the salary that the State withholds from them" (it was during the *Kulturkampf*), "and yet these clerical boors will not even bow to me; their priestly pride forbids it."

I was a particularly pious child. So, at least, I was repeatedly assured by my mother and other persons,

speaking with the best intentions but with what unfortunate results! And whenever I recall the earliest recollections of my childhood I find this encomium confirmed. I was at home in every kind of pious practice.

No one had a stronger influence over me in this respect than an old lady who, till the last day of her life, enjoyed the hospitality of our household, lovingly dispensed to her by my parents, and who, confined by gout to her bedroom or chair, lived a life wholly devoted to religious contemplation.

Dear old Fräulein von Meulen! How and in what capacity she first entered our home I do not know. She was the sister of two priests, who were held in great honour by my parents, especially my mother—the Rector of the priest-house at Kevelaer, and the Abbot of the Trappist convent "Mount of Olives," in Alsace. All the bigotry and pious exaltation of her priestly brothers, the guardian of the miraculous Madonna at Kevelaer, and the President of the Trappists in their living death, had been absorbed by their sister, who, not being really educated, reproduced it in a coarser form. Her head and heart were crammed with tales of miracles and legends of saints, which she depicted with remarkable power of narration and represented as "facts." She knew how to people heaven and earth with good and bad spirits, angels and devils, and to fill our eager, childish imaginations with fantastic or horrible creatures of light and darkness.

Many an hour I spent in her company, now playing, now listening to her stories, prayers, and pious exercises, especially telling the rosary, litanies, and the "Stations of the Cross." Before I was eight years old I was immersed in a sea of mysticism and asceticism—or, rather, pseudo-mysticism and pseudo-asceticism.

Above all, the belief in guardian angels became strong and vivid in the invalid's quiet room. Every Christian,

probably every human being, has an angel of his own, a guardian angel, appointed by God to accompany him from the cradle to the grave. So the Church declares. Naturally this doctrine, supported by pictures and prayers, takes a strong hold of a child always inclined to the marvellous. He enters into a confidential relation with his guardian angel, believes him near, even imagines that he can see him, and thus the supernatural becomes for him the natural. This appears in the prayer of the guardian angels, already quoted, which my mother used to recite when we went to bed.

Guardian angels and ghosts are closely connected. The "suffering souls"—*i.e.* those that still await their deliverance from purgatory—have become, in a sense, guardian angels. In return for prayers, indulgences, masses, and good works, by which we shorten their purificatory sufferings, they give protection in spiritual or physical dangers. Fräulein von der Meulen, my guide through the supernatural world of Ultramontanism, of course took care to introduce me to the mysterious and gruesome world of the "suffering souls"; and I heard endless tales of true apparitions and their helpfulness to the living.

I think all this worthy of mention, not only for its own sake as an instructive extract from the religious education of Ultramontanism, but also because this kind of sensuous transcendental mysticism supplies the best explanation of a phenomenon very common and deep-rooted in Catholic circles, the fear of ghosts.

Ghosts are, so to speak, the counterpart of the suffering souls, for they are the spirits of the dead condemned to hell. Apparitions of ghosts and devils are the terror of Catholic Christianity. Of course, it is for the most part saints who are persecuted by them, rather than the ordinary Christian; still, the belief and fear are common to all. Besides the "real" ghosts, the whole host

of angels and souls in purgatory find a place in the ghostly world. For though these are represented in theory as spirits of light, yet in fact the belief in them excites, especially in children, a feeling of terror connected with night and darkness. No doubt the fear of ghosts also exists in non-Catholic circles, but not to such a degree, for only here does it rest on a basis of dogma and religion strong enough to resist every attempt at instruction.

Indeed, stories of ghosts, devils, and suffering souls form a common subject of evening talk in ultramontane families, and childish spirits hang on these gruesome tales with shuddering curiosity. Here is one of many hundred stories which left an inextinguishable impression on my childish fantasy. I once heard one of our relations, Count Ludwig Waldburg-Zeil, Austrian general and private adjutant to the Archduke Charles Louis, tell a story of his own experience. In the castle of Zeil (Würtemberg), his family home, one of the wings was haunted ; indeed, there is scarcely a castle belonging to a Catholic noble which is not haunted. All prayers, exorcisms, etc., were unavailing, until the chaplain went from room to room carrying the " holy of holies " (the consecrated wafer in the pyx). When he came to the last room the windows suddenly flew open, and he, standing in the inner court, saw a black form, wrapped in smoke and fire, appear at the window, stretch out its arms threateningly to heaven, and disappear. From that time the wing ceased to be haunted.

Another event which occurred later may show how firmly the belief in ghosts is rooted in the Catholic Church. At Müffendorf, near Godesberg, there lived one of my uncles, Baron Joseph von Fürstenberg, with his two daughters, with whom we carried on a lively intercourse. In 1875 the eldest daughter, Mia, wrote in despair to my mother to say that their house was haunted ; every night

a mysterious phantom figure was seen going up and down one particular staircase. She asked whether we could not give them help, since we had a Jesuit chaplain in the house, who could surely exorcise the ghost. As a matter of fact, ever since the expulsion of the Jesuits from Germany, we had always had a Jesuit chaplain, doubtless with a view to more literal obedience to the law. My mother actually did send this Jesuit, Father Platzweg, to Müffendorf with the consent of his Superior, and he watched the mysterious staircase for one whole night, offered up special prayers, and never again was the ghost seen.

The torments I endured, even into advanced youth, in consequence of these stories of angels, suffering souls, and devils, imbibed in my earliest years, are beyond description. And my experience was only in a greater or less degree that of every child brought up in this ultramontane atmosphere.

This childish piety of mine was intensified by a pilgrimage undertaken about this time by my parents to La Salette, in the south of France. According to the miraculous tale, two shepherd children, Maximin and Melasie, were tending their flocks on the mountain pasture of La Salette in the Department of Isère, on the 19th of September, 1846, when Mary the Mother of God appeared to them and revealed to each a special "secret" concerning the fate of France and the world, which they might only communicate to the Pope. When Pius IX. read these secret revelations in a letter, he shed tears at the prospect of the terrible fate impending over France and the rest of the world as a punishment for impiety.* A fountain gushed forth on the spot where the apparition

* The "secrets" were afterwards published "with the consent of Mary and the Pope." They contain mere rubbish. *Cf.* my book, *Das Papsttum in seiner sozial-kulturellen Wirksamkeit*, pp. 302 *et seq.* (5th edition; Leipzig—Breitkopf und Härtel).

was seen, and soon many thousand persons hastened to the secluded mountain village to seek a cure for their ills. The water from the spring was sent to all the ends of the earth. It penetrated to our home among others; it was hoped that it would cure my father's blindness. When it proved ineffectual, my parents determined to set out for the miraculous place itself, where, of course, the same disappointment awaited them. Even this did not destroy their pious faith, and on her return my mother kindled my religious fancy by her enthusiastic accounts of all the glorious and wonderful things she had seen and heard. The "miracles and mercies" of La Salette attended the whole of my childhood, along with the "miracles and mercies" of Kevelaer, which affected me even more intensely because of their close proximity and the constant intercourse between our home and the celebrated pilgrims' shrine on the Lower Rhine.

Many hundred times as child, boy, and youth have I been to Kevelaer, and on each occasion I was seized and penetrated by the storm of religious mysticism that pervades all great centres of pilgrimage, arousing afresh all the inherited religious enthusiasm, the belief in miracle and the fanaticism which slumbered latent within me. At a later period it was this same storm that drove the dark cloud of doubt over my soul; but during my early childhood, of which I am now writing, Kevelaer was the bright sunshine of my childish heavens.

It would take too long to describe the effect of the monster processions, the pomp of the services, the countless rich dedicatory offerings, the continuous song and prayers that rose day and night, of the torchlight processions, the unending rows of booths crammed with every kind of ware, sacred and profane, the mass benediction of rosaries, medals, and crosses, the noisy traffic in inns and hostels, the pomp which attended the pilgrim bishops and

abbots—in a word, the extraordinary mixture of worldliness and religion which filled the narrow village street of Kevelaer.

The main stream of this religious tide passes through the Kapellenplatz, where stands the insignificant Chapel of Mercy, with its little sordid miraculous image of Mary. From June to November a ceaseless stream of travellers from the Rhineland, Westphalia, Holland, and Belgium passes through it; unceasing is the flow of offerings, from the humblest to the greatest, dropped into the great funnel-shaped vessels which stretch out their greedy arms from the interior of the chapel into the surging crowd; hymns to the Virgin, in German, Dutch, Flemish, Walloon, often to strains more suggestive of dance-tunes than pious measures, rise unceasingly into the air, heavy with the odours of tapers, incense, and perspiration. Unceasingly the crowds press forward to the sacred image, and hand crosses, medals, and missals to the brother on duty, who consecrates them by laying them against the glass covering of the image. Unceasingly the surrounding tapers, of every size, shape, and colour, offered to the Madonna by the faithful pilgrims, sputter, flare, and smoke around her image. Unceasingly those who have found, or yet seek, healing adorn the exterior of the image—and, indeed, the whole chapel—with *ex voto* offerings, gold and silver legs, arms, feet, hands, heads, hearts, recalling the manifold ills of the body and mind. From earliest dawn till far into the night the pilgrim crowds press through the befrescoed Hall of Confession, where the confessionals stand side by side in double rows, and hundreds of thousands cast their sins away from them; while in the vast pilgrimage church next door dozens of priests are occupied serving the Communion, which is partaken in a single day by from ten to fifteen thousand persons. One High Mass succeeds another; the sounds of organ and choir never cease.

The combination of all these elements produces, at any rate from the Catholic point of view, an overwhelming, almost intoxicating, effect. And countless times was I subjected to the impression of this gigantic drama of ultramontane piety and religion; its outward splendour as well as its inner mystic effect are closely bound up with the earliest emotions of my soul.

I was, besides, under the impression of the example of my parents, brothers and sisters, and, indeed, all my relations, in whose eyes Kevelaer was a sanctuary of especial holiness. Think of the impression made on my childish spirit, when my father and mother set out on foot for Kevelaer, and there knelt down, in rain, snow, or sunshine, to pray and sing in all the dirt and dust of the street! The road from our house to the estates of my mother's brothers, whom we frequently visited, lay through Kevelaer. Every time our carriage passed through we slackened pace, raised our hats, and as we drove past the image saluted it with prayer. Often my father or mother stopped the carriage to say a prayer by the shrine. Any domestic event, whether sad or joyous, was an occasion for a pilgrimage to Kevelaer. In sickness we asked for cure or deliverance from our worst fears; all our sorrows and anxieties were carried to Kevelaer. When my sisters were betrothed, they presented their future husbands to the Madonna there. We children found a special consolation of our own at Kevelaer, for we never returned without a particular kind of gingerbread, with an imprint of the Madonna in sugar. It was excellent eating!

Among the many other religious customs and observances which influenced my piety, and by their strong appeal to the senses and their ceremonial mysticism enwrapped my awakening soul in an atmosphere of superstition, I may here mention two.

Every year, on the 3rd of February, the feast of

St. Blasius, the holy martyr-bishop of Sebaste, in Armenia, we children received the Blasius blessing. St. Blasius saved a boy from suffocation through swallowing a fish-bone, and thus became a helper in cases of throat trouble. The priest, while uttering the specially appointed prayers, holds two consecrated candles, fastened together after the fashion of a St. Andrew's cross, in front of the sufferer's throat. In spite of the regularity with which the formula of exorcism was pronounced over me, I was not delivered from my chronic throat troubles. Still, I never doubted the magic power of the taper blessing, and I always stretched out my neck as close as possible to their mysterious gleams.

With similar regularity we went every year to receive the cross of ashes on Ash Wednesday. On that day the priest takes some moistened wood-ash between his thumb and first finger (though in some places a special cork mould is used for the purpose), and with this marks a cross on the forehead of the faithful, while saying, " Remember, O man, that thou art dust, and to dust again shalt return." This cross of ashes is the outward token of the season of prayer and penance which begins with Ash Wednesday. Catholics of every grade of society set their hearts on getting this cross ; to dispense with it, indeed, would be regarded as religious neglect. In places where the carnival is observed, men and women, who have spent the night of Shrove Tuesday in revelry, may be seen still wearing their masquerading dress, kneeling by the altar, to receive the impress of the cross. Those who retain it longest on their brows are the recipients of special favour. This led us children to employ various methods for making the cross permanent, such as putting glue over the ashes and refraining for days from washing our faces.

O sancta simplicitas ! we exclaim ; but more rightly : O blind and contemptible superstition, which the Romish

Church impresses even on the souls of children so deeply that it is all but ineradicable.

Two important events of my childhood have yet to be mentioned: the beginnings of Jesuit influence in our home, and my first confession.

I cannot be sure of the exact year when the Jesuit Order gained a footing among us; it must have been in the fifties of the last century, and therefore in my extreme youth. At that time the Jesuits had founded a settlement, called a "Residence," at Cologne, whose superior was Antonius Maria Anderledy, afterwards General of the Order. As my parents often stayed at Cologne, and the sermons and confessionals of the Jesuits there were very largely attended, it was probably by way of sermon and confessional that they were first brought into contact with the Order. Thanks to my mother (though perhaps it is no cause for gratitude), this intercourse quickly developed into a close and general relation. In this particular, I feel sure, my father submitted to my mother's influence. Her hunger after Christian perfection and spiritual guidance made her seize with eagerness the opportunity of surrendering herself to the Jesuits, at that time at the height of their religious and disciplinary fame. And she did so with all her body and soul.

Gradually husband, children, house, and servants were placed under Jesuit influence. Before long the most influential members of the German Province of the Order, Fathers Anderledy, Roh, Faller, Pottgeisser, Roder, Zurstrassen, Hasslacher, von Waldburg-Zeil, Wertenberg, Brinkmann, Ryswick, began to frequent her house and to guide and direct everything there. To how great an extent will be shown later. Above all, the Jesuit Behrens, at one time Provincial Superior of the German Province, a tall, thin, bony figure, with coarse features, succeeded in winning an unbounded and mischievous influence over

my father and mother. They sought his advice in every detail, even to the dresses of my sisters.

I was, of course, too young to be conscious of the new intrusive influence, and in any case incapable of appreciating its significance. That it was I who was destined to succumb to it, that its final effect on me was to be the destruction of an old life and the laborious building up of a new, was what no one could have foreseen when the jolly Jesuit, Roh, took the little fair-haired seven-year-old boy on his knee and sang his native Swiss songs to amuse him.

My first confession was made in my seventh year. The fourth Lateran Council, held in the year 1215, laid it down that every Christian, "after reaching years of discretion" (*postquam ad annos discretionis pervenerit*), must confess at least once a year. Gradually it came about, not without the conscious and powerful assistance of the hierarchic organs, that the word *postquam* was interpreted "as soon as" instead of "after"; at the same time the period of attaining to discretion—*i.e.* the power of distinguishing (*discretio*) good and evil—was pushed forward as far as possible. As a result children were taken to confession during their earliest years.

All manner of disciplinary reasons were given for this early confession. The true one is the hieratical determination that the Church shall take the children as early as possible under her training and under the supervision and direction of her priests.

The harm done both to religion and morals by this early confession is obvious to anyone who is not blinded by the dogmatic and hieratic conceptions of Ultramontanism. All healthy and natural educationists are decisively opposed to it. It is most injurious to childish unconsciousness, for confession actually attracts a child to things, faults, and sins of which it hitherto had no con-

ception. In preparing for confession the child's soul is tortured by a fixed set of questions and inquiries; there is no end and no respite from the conscience searching. If he is of a delicate and timid nature, confession becomes a torment, a source of doubt and trouble; if made of coarser stuff, the mechanism of confession tends to destroy what little delicacy of conscience he possesses. Again it impairs the confidential relation with parents, above all with the mother. A child loses the habit of taking refuge with her when he has committed a fault or is troubled by doubt. A strange element—the priest in the darkness of the confessional—steps between mother and child, and all the " divinity " which attaches to it is incapable of replacing the childish naturalness and simplicity which formerly sent the little culprit full of shame and penitence to his mother to seek peace for his troubled spirit. For this he must now go to the sacrament of confession and the priest.

And what effect can this too early confession have on the child's religious relation to God, whom his mother has taught him to regard as a loving Father? Henceforth the conception is changed to that of an avenging God calling for penance. Definite prescribed outward forms are now required in order to obtain reconciliation and regain His friendship. In the intervals between confessions, the consciousness of unforgiven sin, of enmity to God, weighs down the childish soul.

That is one side of this religious medal. The other is even less attractive. A child learns to estimate the weight of a sin by the weight of the penance which the priest imposes and the amount of shame which he feels when confessing it. The deeper conception of sin as an insult to God's holiness, and in itself an evil, finds no place here. Instead, the wholly non-religious conception comes into the forefront, though at first, perhaps, not con-

sciously. "I can sin as much and as grievously as I like, for everything can be put right by confession." Thus the Church and the priest come between the human soul, only just awakened to consciousness, and its God. The personal and individual relation between God and man gives way to a mechanical sacramental and priestly mediation.

This compulsory confession when a child is just beginning to develop is a violation of the childish soul due to the Church's craving for rule—an unjustifiable attack on childish simplicity and naturalness in respect of morals and religion.

A "conscience-searcher" (known as the "Mirror of Confession"), from a popular "Little Confession Book for School Children" approved by the Church,* will justify my statements.

"Ask yourself which of the following sins you have committed, and take careful note of them. And also consider, at any rate about the grievous ones, how often you have committed them.

"Sins against God's First Commandment: I neglected my morning or evening prayers (from laziness or false modesty ?); I omitted grace at meals (from laziness or false modesty ?); I was ashamed to pray or cross myself; I prayed without devotion.

"Against the Third Commandment: I uttered the name of God and other holy names lightly; I used their names in anger. How often ? I swore. How often ? I uttered careless oaths.

"Against the Fourth Commandment: I was absent from Holy Mass on Sundays and festivals by my own fault. How often ? I came to Mass too late through my own fault; I behaved badly in church.

Against the Fifth Commandment: I was insolent and

* Paderborn, 1901, 12th edition.

obstinate to my parents and teachers; I was disobedient to them; I made them sad or angry; I omitted to pray for them; I mocked at old people.

"Against the Sixth Commandment: I abused, beat, kicked, and knocked down other boys; I fought and quarrelled with them; I enticed others to theft, lies, unchastity. How often? I ill-treated animals.

"Against the Seventh and Tenth Commandments: I meditated willingly on unclean things. How often? I spoke of impure things. How often? I listened with pleasure to unclean talk. How often? I committed unclean actions (alone or with others?). How often? I permitted the doing of unclean actions. How often? I felt a desire to sin against modesty. How often?

"Against the Eighth and Tenth Commandments: I have stolen (fruit, eatables, school utensils, clothes?). I took money (how much?—from parents, relations, or others?) How often? I found (what?), and did not give it back; I wantonly injured the property of others (books, clothes, trees?). How often? I felt a desire to steal. How often? I felt a desire to injure the property of others. How often?

"Against the Ninth Commandment: I have told lies. I repeated the faults of others unnecessarily. How often? I have borne false witness against them. How often?

"Against the commands of the Church: I have eaten meat on fast days deliberately. How often? On the seven deadly sins: I was vain; I was obstinate; I was envious and grudging; I was glad when others were punished; I was immoderate in eating and drinking; I was wrathful; I was lazy (in getting up, praying, work, lessons?); I was inattentive at school; I did not learn my lessons; I played truant."

Here sins are invented for the tender and inexperienced childish conscience which are none in reality. The whole

searching of conscience concerning the First Commandment consists of such sins: omission of the morning and evening prayer, or grace at meals and the sign of the cross. In this way the child is inoculated with a false conscience. Henceforth the merest trifles—cribbing dainties, quarrelling, telling tales—weigh on his heart as "sins." If he is ashamed to confess them afterwards, and this happens often enough, he believes himself guilty of unworthy confession—*i.e.* sacrilege—and the feeling of guilt and torment of conscience this can cause are known only to the Catholic soul.

There are other sins, too, which the Confession-book commits against the childish soul.

"If it is not yet your turn to confess, think upon this: Adam and Eve committed only one sin, and for this were turned out of paradise. And I? I who have committed so many sins? O God, what punishment must Thou lay upon me! The bad angels, too, committed only one sin; they rebelled against God, and for this were eternally condemned to hell. I have sinned so often. O God, if Thou hadst permitted me to die suddenly, whither must I have gone?"*

Thus the most terrible sins known to the Catholic faith, which brought into the world death, devil, and hell, the fall of the first man and woman and of the angels, are cast upon the tender conscience of a little child. "See," they say, "your sins deserve a still worse punishment!" Must not his judgment become quite unbalanced? Must not his growing religious and moral conceptions fall into hopeless confusion, and must not a consciousness of inexpressible wickedness spring up in the little soul—a wickedness which henceforth will weigh on him like a mountain?

Again, the seven questions dealing with impurity and

* Paderborn, pp. 12 *et seq.*

immodesty are a sin against educational and religious truth which must bear grievous consequences. Instead of preserving the child's imagination as much as possible from such thoughts, the ultramontane teaching actually thrusts him into the mire. The great injury done by confession is the disproportionate stress it lays on the details of sexuality. This is closely connected with the error of which the whole of ultramontane morality, discipline, and education are guilty. Natural sexuality is distorted into something unnatural and sinful; innocent naturalness scarcely exists. Everywhere the Ultramontane Catholic suspects vice. In this way he either helps to cultivate it, or produces such unhealthy and tormenting ideas about the human body and its functions that all, especially young persons, in whose head and heart such unnatural, or rather perverted, views have taken root are greatly to be pitied.

In our family a comparatively healthy tone in the treatment of sexual matters prevailed. The intercourse between brothers and sisters was a natural one; at any rate, we were not driven by our education and religion to look upon ourselves as sexual creatures, and "immediate occasions for sin." Although the stork that brings the babies was not unknown in our family, his dominion was not silly and, above all, not poisonous. But even we had to pay our toll in some grotesque ways to the mischievous perversity of ultramontane morality.

At night we had to wear a closed night-dress made like a sleeping sack. This prevented us from even seeing or touching our naked bodies. And if one of us took a bath by himself in the bathroom, he had to put on a bathing costume reaching to his feet. Even when I had grown to manhood I should have thought it sinful—or at any rate morally wrong—to enter a bath unclothed, or to contemplate my own body. So strong was the influence of this training.

Yet I designate all this as simplicity, because matters were far worse in the homes of some of our relations. There even brothers and sisters might never play together without supervision, lest there should be any risk to their innocence and modesty.

Though the responsibility for this immodest "modesty" lies largely at the door of Catholicism with its confessionals and its morals, it would not be fair to make it bear all the blame, for a large measure of it belongs unfortunately to every shade of Christianity, which, while departing in respect of morality as well as of religion, from the teaching and example of Christ, transforms the natural into the unnatural, and the healthy use of the senses into unhealthy vice.

The human body with its sexual differences has been regarded by the zealots of all Christian denominations as something naturally sinful; to speak of it and the sex functions, and to enlighten children and young people about it is considered wrong. What corrupt ideas of God and Nature, what irreconcilable contradictions are implied by such ideas of modesty! Marriage, family and children are regarded as "sacred," a favour and gift from God; but all that leads to them, what God and Nature have themselves placed before these sacred things as the gate through which they can alone be approached—the difference of the sexes and the natural intercourse between them, to the end of founding families and begetting children—is a shameful thing that must not be mentioned. We are removed by our feelings as much as by our age not only from the doctrine of Christ, but also from His natural view of sex. The fact that a lawful, joyous, bright and happy use of the senses and of sex is permissible seems to be lacking to the consciousness of the Christian masses, leaders and followers alike.

Nowhere, perhaps, is the inconsistency of present-day Christianity more remarkable than in the treatment of

sex questions, and especially procreation. Here the doctrine and practice of Ultramontanism present the worst inconsistencies and most irreconcilable contradictions. Surely that branch of Christianity which claims to embrace the whole world in the widest sense of the word "catholic," and to explain body and mind, natural and supernatural, this world and the next, as one single whole, ought above all to include the source of human existence, and therefore of the "world-riddle," in the harmony which it claims to have established in the universe.

Christianity—by which I mean in the first instance Catholicism (though in this respect orthodox Protestantism does not differ greatly)—teaches us as a dogma that at the moment of procreation God implants a soul in that which is created. Therefore the union of man and woman calls forth a creative act on the part of God—that divine function with which nothing can compare in greatness and power. For by this act man, as it were, compels God to exercise His highest activity. Just as, according to Catholic dogma, the priest, by uttering the words "This is My body," and "This is My blood," compels God to transform bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, the man and woman by their union compel Him to create an immortal soul. It is therefore an act of consecration, because connected with the highest activity of the eternal Deity, and because God by His act completes and perfects the human act. It would, therefore, be right and reasonable if Catholicism, which honours and elevates the priest because of his power of compelling the Deity to enter the bread and wine, were also to honour and elevate the procreating pair, because they set His creative power in motion. But instead, what happens? Christianity, both Catholic and Protestant, regards with contempt all that appertains to sex, and often pours shame on the act in which God's power is specially manifest.

The reason is that such Christianity lacks the power of seeing things as they are, or even as its own official doctrines represent them. Where Christianity ought to be logical, it fails us; and it offends against religion and morality, and sins against God and Nature, by taking its stand on crumbling ground, instead of on a rocky foundation.

That is why the men who grow from this crumbling ground are incomplete beings, with uncertain view and insecure outlook on the world and man, and are ashamed of that which, according to their own teaching, contains a divine element. The paths which have been blocked by false asceticism, false belief, false modesty, must be once more cleared. Not that they may lead to sexual licence and shamelessness, but in order that the human race may step onward in moral freedom, strength, and joy, and lose the contemptible and harmful sense of shamefulness in its origin.

Of course, such thoughts did not occur to me at the early age of which I am writing; it was long afterwards that they came to me. But as the first confession is usually the occasion when the child's attention is drawn to sexual matters, as it were, officially and under religious influence (by the "Mirror of Confession" and the questions asked by the confessor), this seemed a suitable place for explaining my views on it. I shall have occasion later to show how this extravagant and truly unnatural Christianity acts injuriously upon the psychological, ethical, and intellectual development of those who come under its dominion.

To return to the first confession. How often and how sadly did I in later years, when myself a confessor, note the evil results of this early confession, with its conscience-searching, so calculated to draw attention to evil, and this in quite different countries—Holland, Belgium, England, and Germany—thus proving how uniform are the

ill effects of ultramontane education and early confession. Little boys and girls of seven and eight reel off a list of possible and impossible sins with exact enumeration —*e.g.* "I failed in devoutness 567 times; I was disobedient 215 times; I laughed in church 122 times; I lied 435 times; I pushed or beat other children or pulled their hair 249 times; I stole cakes or sweets 84 times; I prompted other boys at school 110 times; I was unchaste 96 times"—though inquiry on this point generally discovers that this refers to mere trivialities or the satisfaction of natural needs. I have even heard from the mouth of children the words, "I have committed adultery so-and-so many times." In a word, the child's mind is a perfect whirl, a maze of numbers and sins that can scarcely fail to stifle any real religious emotion.

Fortunately for me, my first confessor was a very matter-of-fact person, Brühl, the pastor of Guelders, who did not worry me with questions, but settled matters in a short and business-like fashion. So my early confessions did me little harm. I cannot say as much for my later ones. One evil result was, however, inevitable—the priest must take the place of God. Man, in his search for peace and reconciliation with God, finds a man in His place, and soon ceases to seek after God at all. The most intimate and truly religious emotion of the soul, its reunion with God, becomes through the medium of secret confession a mere outward act, and no amount of prayers and penitentiary formulæ can avail to cover the inward lack of all true religion.

Though this injury to the religious life was not manifest to its full extent in my case, yet it inevitably begins in every child on his first confession, for this engenders the worm that gradually effects its secret destruction.

Again, the decree of the Lateran Council insists on annual confession. But ultramontane practice, in its lust

for rule, requires frequent confession. Now what can a child of six or seven know of a Lateran decree ? The only decree, law, and duty he knows are those laid down by his parents, teachers, and priests ; and they all bid him confess frequently. From the time of his first confession till his first communion—*i.e.* till his thirteenth or fourteenth year—he goes to confession every six weeks. After this children are expected to go even oftener—a procedure which is ensured by careful supervision and admonition. So the pious Ultramontane Catholic acquires the habit of confessing once a week, and many thousands, not content even with this, pay a daily visit to the confessional. This gives the priest a power over individuals and families to which nothing else can compare in strength and the extent of its influence. No longer a mere confession of sin, it becomes a directing influence in all the private and public affairs of the penitent. It is by means of the confessional that Rome directs the souls and bodies, the family and social relations, of the faithful. I shall have occasion to speak later of the good effects of confession. They are due, not to its religious and sacramental influence, but rather to its natural and human aspect.

In other respects, my early development was absolutely normal. I was a cheerful, amiable, and intelligent child, the delight of my parents and friends. No special difficulties were experienced in my education or in the instruction which I received at home from chaplains, tutors, and governesses. I was deeply attached to my numerous brothers and sisters.

Only one dark memory belongs to that period. A tutor, a pupil of one of the Catholic seminaries, behaved indecently to me, under the pretence of helping me, a child, to perform natural functions. In my unsuspecting innocence I related the circumstance to my mother. Next morning the miscreant had left the house. This event left

no injurious effects. It was many years later that I came to understand the danger which then threatened me. The atmosphere of our home was pure, and so was my childish soul. It is to show this that I relate the circumstance.

Apart from its religious foundation, our education was based on absolute faith in authority and unreasoning obedience. No doubts or objections, far less criticism, were permitted us. Everything that our parents said and did was right, true, good, just, because they said and did it. I seem still to hear the answer "Because" to my questioning "Why?" Now the words and actions of my parents were undoubtedly good, but, being human, even they were liable to error, and our perception of such errors, combined with their demand of unconditional and uncritical submission, often troubled my childish soul even then, and led in later years to many an inner and outer struggle.

Wise and excellent as were my parents, they, like many others, failed to realise that even a little child is an individual with independent thoughts, feelings, and judgments; that education is meant for counsel and direction, not for moulding characters on the same pattern, and should aim at development, not at mechanical drill. "Children have no will of their own," was a pedagogic maxim in our household. It is scarcely necessary to prove the falsity of this principle and the harm done by carrying it into effect.

Doubtless the great stress laid on authority and blind obedience was closely connected with the general views of my parents, the ultramontane doctrine of blind subjection of the inner and outer man. For the same reason they approved of corporal punishment. Still, our tutors and governesses were not allowed to strike us. While we were quite small my mother punished us herself; after-

wards this duty was undertaken by my father. It was always attended by a certain amount of solemnity; it never took place immediately after the offence—as a rule, only on the following day. My mother was always present. The whole procedure was calculated rather to produce a moral effect than to cause physical pain. It closed generally with the text of the father who chastises his child because he loves him. When I look back at these executions—which were quite free from any coarse or rough element—I still realise their absolute futility. Whatever the Bible may say, there is no true educational value in blows.

In our educational system there was no place for art. This is indeed characteristic of Ultramontanism, which instinctively keeps aloof from this as from every other manifestation of a free spirit. It recognises only ecclesiastical art, and compels literature, sculpture, painting, and even music, to keep within the bounds laid down by ecclesiastical dogma and morals. The development of a free human spirit in word, speech, or image is not permitted in Catholic art. And beauty, its very life, must submit to have her wings clipped by Ultramontanism. The basis of all these checks—one might almost call them castrations—to art and beauty is the unnatural and excessive fear of vice. For the cult of the senses, which it interprets as licence, is the bugbear which Ultramontanism opposes to every product of the liberal arts, whether expressed in colour or form, in word or sound. It regards the unclothed human body—especially the female—the very highest manifestation of art and beauty, as something sinful. The most that is permitted by its teaching is to find beauty in face or hands. A man who speaks of the beauty of a woman's leg or bosom, or the curve of her back, who takes pleasure in seeing them represented in pictures and statues, or who depicts human love in its

consuming passion, or takes pleasure in such a description, is regarded as vicious. This accursed Catholic "morality," closely related indeed to that of orthodox Protestantism, transforms God's fair world into something unnatural and vicious, and relates as edifying and commendable incidents out of the lives of its saints, that such a one, even as an infant, proved his love of chastity by refusing to suck at his mother's breast, while another in his youth would not even look at his mother.

How is it possible for any one holding such views to study the theory and practice of art? It was not till after my breach with Ultramontanism, in my fortieth year, that I learned and dared to admire and study beauty in its various manifestations.

What does the Ultramontane Catholic do when he visits museums and art exhibitions? He goes timidly past the highest revelations of art, the creations of Michael Angelo, Titian, Correggio, for he is not permitted to gaze upon the glorious beauty of a nude female figure. He does not know the meaning of delight in beauty, thanks to the moral teaching with which he has been inoculated, and which always thrusts the notion of sexual desire into the foreground.

Those who have received this education do not seek for art on the heights, where the air blows fresh and the outlook is wide. Timidly slinking past all purely human beauty, and shrinking from the sight of nudity, their road leads downward into narrow places, lest they wander on forbidden ground. As children we often went with our parents to picture galleries, but we could never give ourselves up to free, unhampered enjoyment, on account of the "dangerous" pictures and statues that met us at every turn. To stand in front of the Venus de Medici or similar works would have been held immodest.

The beauty of literature was also hidden from us. No

classic work was ever laid on our tables at Christmas or on our name-day festival, nor were extracts read aloud to us. Although Cologne and Düsseldorf were within easy reach, and we were often taken there, the theatre and opera remained sealed books for us.

The closing event of my early childhood is the entrance of my eldest sister Luise into a convent, an event which in its consequences was to have a fatal effect on my life.

My two sisters, Luise and Antonia, were sent while very young to the educational institute of the Dames de St. André at Tournai, in Belgium. After completing her education at the age of seventeen, Luise took the veil there. After thirty-five years of monastic life she died in 1894. Her example, letters, and conversation when we visited her there almost every year, had a powerful influence on me during the years when the idea of escape from the world was taking shape in me. But for my monastic sister Luise it is probable that I should never have crossed the threshold of the novitiate house at Exaeten.

CHAPTER III

THE JESUIT SCHOOL AT FELDKIRCH

In October, 1861, my life underwent a momentous change, for my parents sent me to the Jesuit school, "Stella Matutina" (Morning Star*), at Feldkirch, in the Vorarlberg, whither two of my brothers—Adrian, who died in 1864, and William, the present owner of the property—had already gone in the autumn of 1860.

Even at the present day Feldkirch, in Austria, is the educational resort of the German Catholic nobility. Though not, like some similar establishments, exclusively aristocratic—since, as a matter of fact, the majority of its pupils are not of noble birth—most of the noble Catholic families of Germany send their sons to be educated there. Indeed, its roll of alumni contains some of the most aristocratic names in the country.

A custom peculiar to German Ultramontanists is that of sending boys and girls of the better classes to be educated at religious establishments conducted by international communities in other countries, *e.g.* Belgium, Holland, France, and England. This circumstance, though a matter of common knowledge, is unfortunately not sufficiently recognised by public opinion. Yet it is of the first significance from the point of view of politics, economics, religion, and education, and supplies the key to many of the internal phenomena of Catholic circles.

For several decades thousands of German children have

* One of the forty-six epithets of the Virgin in the Litany of Loretto.

been sent out of the country to receive from non-Germans an expensive education and initiation into ultramontane principles. They return six or seven years afterwards thoroughly penetrated by bigotry and superstition, and animated by the crudest intolerance for all who do not share their views. Their sentiment of nationality has been weakened during the long years spent in foreign surroundings. They have been inoculated with that internationalism so typical of Ultramontanism. And their education, given in a foreign country by nuns, priests, and monks, if compared with the corresponding German instruction, appears both superficial and incomplete.

The evil influences of this custom are of the most widespread description. All the leading journals of German Ultramontanism (*Kölnische Volkszeitung, Germania, Schlesische Volkszeitung, Tremonia, Neiderrheinische Volkszeitung, Echo der Gegenwart*, etc.), at the beginning of every school term, publish columns of advertisements of Belgian, Dutch, English, French, Austrian, even Italian and Spanish convent schools; and hundreds of German families—especially from the Prussian provinces of the Rhinelands, Westphalia, Silesia, and, next to them, Bavaria, Baden, Wurtemberg—respond eagerly to the appeal, sending both girls and boys away for years into a foreign land, to grow strange to the manners and customs of their own.

Of course, Ultramontanism is fully conscious of the end to be thus attained. These institutions are, above all, nurseries for the priestly order. A great number of the young people of both sexes educated here are led to become priests, monks, and nuns.* This kind of education also provides a similarity of type in men and women, who, returning to their families, and themselves in turn becoming parents, maintain and spread the ultramontane spirit.

* The "German" Province of the Jesuit Order owes a great part of its growth to its institute at Feldkirch. Several Feldkirch pupils join it every year.

The thousands of youths and maidens who in the course of years have been educated in the convents of Belgium, Holland, France, and England, are true Ultramontanes, *i.e.* men and women in whose eyes Rome takes the first, and their German Fatherland the second place. There is no getting away from this; however much those concerned may object or complain of "libel," no matter how much German sentiment they possess, nor how eager they may be to rank as patriots, to a true Ultramontane it is impossible. For the Romish doctrine of the dominion of the Church over the State, the absolute and all-comprehending obedience due to the Pope, leave no room for a sound, sincere, and independent feeling of nationality. Ultramontane patriotism is, hard as it may sound, a conditioned patriotism; and the voice of Rome, when uttered with authority, always drowns the cry of the Fatherland.

This is the first effect of education in foreign convents. The second relates to the teaching given there.

The young people who are sent to these educational establishments come completely under the influence of ultramontane culture, the very foundation of which is lack of freedom in mind and thought. Such freedom is intolerable to Ultramontanism, which clips the young wings and holds them down with the leaden weight of ecclesiastical authority. There must be no independent thinking. This watchword gives the direction in which every personality, except under very special circumstances, must develop, a direction confirmed by Pius X. in his encyclical of the 11th of February, 1906, by the words, "As for the multitude, their only duty is to let themselves be led and to follow their shepherd as a docile herd."

On this foundation of intellectual bondage the education of the young is based. Of the treasures of our national literature the pupils at these foreign convent schools learn

nothing, except, indeed, in a distorted form; while "good" Catholic literature occupies an inordinate place in their studies. The martial deeds of Germans which brought about the establishment of the new German Empire are, to put it mildly, not represented in the only permissible light of national advance and greatness. Anyone can picture to himself the history lessons on these and similar periods in the numerous French educational establishments at Brussels, Namur, Tournai, Paris, Angers, frequented by German Catholic children.

The stamp of all these establishments is international. Teachers and pupils present a perfect medley of nations and languages. What opportunity is there for the growth of any national feeling? Even in those who naturally possess this, it is either destroyed or grievously diminished.

The actual instruction, too, is, as already pointed out, extremely unsatisfactory and quite inadequate for German requirements. Especially is this the case in the convent schools for girls. It is perhaps not quite so bad for boys, who will afterwards, to qualify for their future professions, have to pass examinations at a German gymnasium. This very necessity produces some improvement; and recently, in the Catholic schools abroad, an attempt has been made to adopt the German curriculum. But in the girls' schools, conducted by nuns, the instruction, even at the present day, is extremely bad. The teaching nuns themselves lack all intellectual training. The young ladies who, after passing through their hands, return to their families in Germany, may chatter French or English, and are drilled in the most various and amazing exercises of piety, their imaginative heads and hearts are crammed with extreme and extravagant ideas about religion, Church, Protestantism, and heretics, but of real knowledge they have scarcely a conception. I saw this in the case of my

own sisters, who were educated in a Franco-Belgian boarding-school of a model type.

These evils, which I here sketch briefly in introducing the record of my own education and training in a foreign religious establishment, may help to throw some light on the psychology of German Ultramontanism. In its circles no one seems to realise what a confession of the weakness of their own national sentiment they make by sending their children out of the country to be educated. In so doing they treat German education and culture as inferior to that of a foreign convent. Such fathers and mothers never for one moment realise that there is any ethical value in a home education. The internationalism of Ultramontanism, which in the convents borders on anti-nationalism, has gained the upper hand in many German families, though rooted for many centuries in German soil. My parents too suffered from this ultramontane disease, and that is why my sisters migrated to a Belgian convent, and we boys were sent at a very tender age to the Jesuit establishment at Feldkirch.

Although Feldkirch is situated in Austria, it belongs not to the Austrian, but to the German Province of the Jesuit Order. Before the expulsion of the Jesuits from Germany in 1872, the Stella Matutina at Feldkirch was the only educational establishment in Europe belonging to the German Province. After the expulsion a second was founded at Ordrupshoj, near Copenhagen. But in its oversea missions (North America, Brazil, India) it has long maintained a number of important schools.

At the time when I went to Feldkirch, and during the whole of my eight years' stay there, the Austrian State High School (*Gymnasium*) was in the hands of Jesuits, who undertook the teaching in all eight classes. When it was taken from them for a while they established in their own school, the Stella Matutina, Gymnasium courses

adapted partly to Austrian and partly to Prussian requirements. The State school was, however, restored to the Jesuits some years ago.

The Stella Matutina consisted of two quite distinct departments, whose inmates only associated at lessons. These were the First Boarding House, with higher fees and corresponding better accommodation, and the Second House. In the two together there were at my time about 400 pupils. These were graded in "divisions," according to age and height. The first house contained three, and the second, two divisions. The smallest children were in the third, the next in the second, and the biggest in the first. Intercourse between the divisions could only take place by permission of the divisional prefect; each division had two such prefects. Even brothers in different divisions might only talk together by special permission.

The main portion of the buildings was a disused yeomanry barracks, to which a wing had been added. The foaming waters of the Ill washed one side of the rambling building; the other faced the little town, in full view of Schattenburg, the ancient castle of the Counts of Montfort, which rose defiantly from the neighbouring rock. The Stella Matutina has been greatly enlarged since my day. It extends across the Ill, and has twice the number of pupils.

The separate divisions had each their own dormitories, studies, and playgrounds. Only the refectory was common to all. The rooms without exception were light and airy, though of extreme simplicity. We each had a cubicle in the big dormitory, curtained off, with just enough room for a narrow bed and a little washstand, with a few drawers to hold what was absolutely necessary. The rest of our clothes and our boots were kept in the *lingerie*, under the control of one of the lay brothers. In each dormitory slept several prefects, Jesuit scholastics, who

were charged with our supervision. They had cubicles like ours.

The food was plentiful and good. At breakfast we had as many cups of coffee (euphemistically called "Mocha") as we liked, with plenty of good bread, and on special feast days excellent butter. Lunch consisted of a large piece of bread. For dinner we had soup, two sorts of meat, roast and boiled, with vegetables, salad, and potatoes. At four o'clock a large piece of "four o'clock bread," to which, if our pocket-money permitted, we might add chocolate or fruit bought from the "questor," while in winter, after the Tuesday and Thursday walks, we had coffee at four o'clock in the refectory; for supper there was soup and warm meat, or some sort of farinaceous dish (*Mehlspeise*) with cold meat. Our usual drink was light beer; on feast days we had red or white wine at dinner. The chief festivals were marked by a specially ceremonious and extensive meal, at which the *patres*—*i.e.* superiors, prefects, and professors—joined us, and the pupils' orchestra played its brass band. The solemn entrance of the patres into the refectory, with the Pater Rector at the head, was always greeted officially with deafening applause. These festival dinners were commonly known as "three-plate gorges," from the number of plates used by each person.

As a rule, we were not allowed to talk at meals. Two pupils of the first division, who bore the title "readers," were stationed at the lectern and read aloud from books of history, literature, or travel. On Sundays and festivals talking was permitted at dinner, but very rarely at breakfast or supper. This permission, which was given after grace by the sound of a bell, was known as *Deo gratias* (Thanks be to God). This designation comes from the convents, where the Superior announces the beginning of conversation by the words *Deo gratias*. "To-day

is *Deo gratias*" was a joyful announcement for us pupils.

The supervision at table was undertaken from three pulpits by the Chief Prefect and two sub-prefects. In our studies the first divisional prefects supervised, the second divisional and other prefects had charge of the corridors and staircases.

Only at recreation was talking allowed; at other times silence was the rule throughout the house, and even in the playground as soon as the second bell announced the close of recreation.

When the divisions passed through the house to go to chapel or to meals, or to the studies or dormitories, they marched in pairs, two leaders, appointed for half a year, going in front.

If any of us wished to speak to the Rector, Chief Prefect, class teacher, confessor, or any other of the Fathers, we had to write a note expressing the wish. These notes were collected by the janitor of each division at a fixed time and handed to the particular Father, who summoned the boys to attend on him during evening study (from five to seven).

At the head of the whole establishment, Jesuits and pupils alike, was the Rector. Under him the Chief Prefect had the supervision of the pupils. Our studies were under the direction of the Prefect of Studies, likewise under the general supervision of the Rector. These important offices were always filled by older priests, who had taken the final vows of the Order (either as Coadjutors or as Professed). They were assisted by a number of younger members known as "scholastics." According to the constitution of the Order, these were only entitled to the designation Brother, but on disciplinary grounds we had to address them as Father. The Fathers who were concerned with the education and

supervision of the pupils were called Prefects, those who took charge of our lessons were *Magistri*. The domestic offices were performed by lay brothers, assisted by servants, who, though not belonging to the Order, were under the strict control of the Fathers. There were no females at the Stella Matutina; cooking, sick-nursing, and washing were all in the hands of lay brothers and men-servants.

Tuesday and Thursday afternoons were half-holidays. Then the divisions, under the guidance of their prefects, went for walks, marching in threes till the prefect rang a little bell, which he always carried in his pocket, as a signal to break up the ranks.

In summer there was a long excursion once a week, usually to the summit of some mountain. We would set out as early as three or four o'clock in the morning; and it was often seven or eight at night before we reached home. Each boy carried his own provisions—bread, eggs, sausages, and a flask of raspberry juice—and porters were sent on ahead, to a place chosen beforehand, with further supplies. There, near some mountain farm we made coffee, for which we obtained milk from the dairy. On their return all the divisions assembled in the playground, and to the accompaniment of the brass band sang the "O Sanctissima" before the image of the Madonna. It was an impressive sight, which many of the inhabitants of Feldkirch came out to witness.

These excursions to the beautiful mountains of Vorarlberg were a source of great delight to us. But undoubtedly walks of some ten hours' duration implied excessive exertion, especially for the younger children. Indeed, the days immediately following the expeditions were generally wasted so far as study was concerned on account of over-fatigue. There was also some considerable danger involved. We went up mountains—*e.g.* the Three Sisters, the Gallina—quite unsuited to such young

climbers, for some among us were no more than ten years old. And the two or even four prefects in charge were not enough for a party of thirty or forty boys.

Indeed, I nearly lost my life in an ascent of the Three Sisters mountain during the very first year of my residence. While climbing a very rough and steep path I was suddenly seized with giddiness, not surprising in a boy of ten, lost my footing, and began to slip down a steep incline towards the precipice below. Luckily, my descent was stopped by a piece of rock, to which I clung fast till Father Faller, at that time Prefect-General, came up and took my hand to guide me, not down to the camping place, but up to the summit. But, unless my memory fails me, this was the last time we climbed that particular mountain, whether on account of my mishap I do not know.

Many a time since I have asked myself whether it would not have been well for me had my young life ended then amid the boulders of the wild Samina Valley—a question which arose in me again long afterwards on the occasion of another hairbreadth escape. Often I should have answered in the affirmative, at the time when the breach with my old life was impending. But now—and, indeed, for the last ten years—I answer unreservedly, No. Those who are engaged in the work of construction, in imparting knowledge to others, can but rejoice at escape from premature death. And when, as in my case, private and personal happiness is experienced, the joys of home and family, so long denied to me and even impossible of attainment, then surely it is a duty and privilege to welcome life.

Some time later a country house, officially known as the "Villa," was acquired, and the excursions became less frequent, as we spent most of our free time at the "Garina," where there was plenty of room for active games.

Very delightful, too, were the sledging parties on winter

holiday afternoons down a neighbouring hill-side. Each of us had his own sledge, and we trudged up in a long line, marching sometimes for a couple of hours. Then down we slid gaily in headlong course. The many little commemorative shrines we passed on our downward journey showed that this delight was not free from risk; and although, to the best of my recollection, there were no serious climbing accidents, this sledging, or toboganning, as we should now call it, led to a number of mishaps, such as broken legs and arms. After my time even this sport fell into disuse, and the toboganning was confined to the so-called "Russian mountains" in the playground, high wooden erections with an inclined slide, besprinkled with water, which, frozen to ice, offered a very fair substitute for the real sport.

Our daily routine, to the best of my memory after forty-eight years, was something like this:

We rose at five (the smallest children at half-past five), and had to wash and dress in twenty minutes. Then came morning prayers in the study. Then lessons till seven o'clock Mass, at which we joined in singing German or Latin hymns. At half-past seven breakfast and a short recreation. From eight to twelve lessons, with a quarter of an hour recreation at ten o'clock, when we ate our lunch. Dinner at twelve; recreation from twelve-thirty to one-thirty. Study from one-thirty to two. Lessons from two to four. Recreation and "four o'clock bread," four to four-forty-five. Study, four-forty-five to seven. Supper at seven. Then evening prayers and "conscience searching" in the studies. After prayers the younger ones went to bed, and the elder pupils had "free study" till eight-forty-five, which was utilised according to inclination or prescription, for reading light literature out of the division library, or for further study. At nine o'clock everyone had to be in bed.

We only had holidays once a year, from the 1st of August to the 1st of October. At Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas we observed only the Church festivals. It was no doubt the great distance of Feldkirch from the homes of most of the pupils that made more frequent and shorter holidays impossible.

Besides the two divisions of the boarding establishment, day-boys were also admitted. These lived in private houses in the little town, and had no connection with the boarders except at lessons, when the greatest care was taken to prevent any intercourse between regular and out-students. Still, even the day-boys were under Jesuit direction in other respects than instruction. Its nucleus lay in the Marian Congregations and the annual Exercises, in both of which the externs took part as well as the ordinary pupils.

The Stella Matutina, like other Jesuit educational establishments, had an international character, though the majority of the pupils were German or German Austrians. Swiss, French, English, Dutch, Danes, North and South Americans, Spaniards, Italians, Belgians, were to be found in varying numbers in the different divisions. Even more important, however, than the internationalism of the pupils was the mixture of race in the teaching faculty. As this was a special characteristic of the institution, it will be better to deal with it in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV

THE JESUIT SYSTEM OF INSTRUCTION

For more than three centuries Jesuit teaching has found many eulogists, from Bacon and Leibnitz down to Friedrich Paulsen. My own eight years' experience as a pupil at Feldkirch prevents me from subscribing to their praise, while my knowledge of the system of instruction compels me to pronounce it bad.

These eulogists belong to two opposite factions: those who in other respects adopt the anti-Jesuit standpoint and are enemies of the Order, and its sworn friends. Both praise what is obvious, the externals and the success they achieve; but they scarcely touch on the system and its inner meaning. The opponents never penetrate to the kernel of the Jesuit system. The friends, too, are so ignorant that they cannot reach below the surface, or else they consciously misrepresent facts, or fail to bring their true meaning to light. Among the latter may be classed all the Jesuits who write of their own educational system.

Undoubtedly the Jesuit schools have met with a full measure of external success. As everything done by this Order with a view to outward show and the attraction of the masses is based on acute understanding of human nature, and carried out with considerable display and splendour, so this applies in a very special degree to its school system. Even at this day the scions of ruling houses, the nobility, and the most influential classes, fill its schools;

the buildings are on a magnificent scale, and often architecturally beautiful. Musical and theatrical performances, to which great State and Church dignitaries are invited, and ceremonial processions of pupils, serve to establish the excellence of their educational system in the common estimation.

"These ceremonies must be conducted with exceptional solemnity, and with as large an attendance as possible of our own members and men of learning and high position from other quarters. . . . On the day appointed (for the prize-giving), the names of the winners are to be publicly announced with all manner of pomp, and before a numerous audience. . . . The prizes are then to be handed to the winners amid applause and the sound of music." *

An example of the "exceptional solemnity" prescribed above is afforded by the opening of the Jesuit *Gymnasium majus* at Munich, in 1576.

"The students, dressed in Roman costume, acted a play entitled *Constantine*, and after the conclusion of the performance forty of them, clad in steel armour, accompanied the Imperator on horseback through the town, when he rode in triumph through the street in a Roman quadriga." †

Similar love of pomp is evident everywhere in the educational system of the Jesuits. Kelle quotes from a codex in the Vienna Court Library‡ the statement that a theatrical performance organised by the Jesuits at Vienna in the year 1654 cost 4,000 gulden (about £400), and this at a period immediately after the Thirty Years' War.

* Rule 12 for the Prefects of Studies, Regulations for the distribution of prizes pars. 11, 12.

† A. Kluckhohn, *Die Jesuiten in Baiern: Sybels. Histor. Zeitschrift*, 1874, Vol. 31, p. 387.

‡ Kelle, *Die Jesuiten-Gymnasien in Oesterreich* (Munich, 1878), p. 144.—Codex No. 8368, p. 19.

No wonder such proceedings met with a popular "success." A further success was achieved in the acquisition by their pupils of such humanistic culture as the age afforded. But this is the very least that can be demanded of any educational institution. As the final result of Jesuit teaching capacity, it may be considered insignificant. When so large a community, organised with one conscious aim like that of the Jesuits, which for many centuries has been magnificently equipped with means and men, and has enjoyed the goodwill of the Church, State, and Family, designates education as one of its main tasks, surely great and astounding results should have been produced; this community, with its centuries of experience and practice, ought to have become a didactic pioneer, and new, original methods should have taken birth here. Instead, we find neither in its origin nor in its development one breath of creative spirit in the Jesuit educational system.

The Order utilises the educational achievements of others, but it never originates. From the first institution of the "*Ratio atque institutio studiorum Societatis Jesu*" in the years 1586–1591, under the General of the Order, Claudius Acquaviva, to 1832, when it was edited afresh under General John Roothaan, the Jesuits were only copyists, and bad at that.

Their Scheme of Study is an imitation of the schemes of the Universities of Paris and Louvain, of the flourishing schools of the "Brothers of the Common Life" at Liège, and the pioneer scholastic of Strassburg, Johannes Sturm.*

* The debt of the Jesuit Scheme of Studies to former schemes is so certain that even the Jesuits Pachtler (in the *Monumenta Germaniae paedagogica*, 5, vi.) and Duhr (in *Die Studienordnung der Gesellschaft Jesu*, pp. 6–12) acknowledge it, though they veil their admission in a mass of verbiage. Thus Duhr writes (p. 12):— "As many Jesuits attended the schools of the Brothers, and in any case their schools were well known to the Jesuits as the best of their age, it is easy to account for many resemblances in the school of Sturm and those of the Jesuits, without necessarily assuming a dependence of the Jesuits on Sturm." It is a most unfortunate circumstance that Pachtler and Duhr were invited to collaborate in the

On this mediæval foundation Jesuit education has remained as it were stationary, in spite of all changes of time and requirements.

If we compare the wording of the Jesuit *Ratio Studiorum* of 1591 with that of 1832, in force at the present time, only slight changes are observable. The *Ratio* of the nineteenth century is as cumbrous, and bears the same weight of scholastic ballast, as that of the sixteenth. But the earlier scheme did not bear the stamp of isolation, since it embodied the essence of the prevailing methods of education. At the present day such a scheme is in the fullest sense an alien thing.

The fact that the Jesuit Order, with its Scheme of Studies unchanged in all the changes of time and circumstances, can still keep a place in the educational world, and that, even without the outward pomp and circumstance described above, it still attains by no means contemptible results, is in no sense due to the scheme, but rather to the change and progress in the world outside, which compelled it, in spite of and even in opposition to its *Ratio Studiorum*, to adapt itself to new needs.

Yet how slowly, how incompletely and unwillingly, did this adaptation proceed! For the space of two hundred and thirty years there is not even a mention of adaptation. During this whole period (1590–1832), when such momentous discoveries and revolutions were taking place in the domain of natural science, the course in physics set forth in the *Ratio* is as follows:—

Monumenta Germaniae paedagogica, for both are among the most unscrupulous colourists of the Jesuit systems of instruction and education. I shall have occasion again to refer to their methods. Pachtler's literary forte is his attack on Freemasonry. On this subject he has written books which abound in absurdities, and are worthy precursors of the Taxil hoax. This circumstance alone should have prevented the directors of the *Monumenta* from inviting a writer of such extravagant fantasy, and with a power of invention undisturbed by any qualms of conscience, to collaborate in a work of serious erudition. But who among non-Ultramontanes knows anything about Ultramontanism and Jesuits?

"In the second year (of the three years' philosophy course) the professor is to expound eight books of the Physics, the *de Caelo*, and the first book *de Generatione*. Of the eight books he need give only a sketch of the sixth and seventh, and those portions of Book I. that give the views of the ancients. In Book VIII. he need not touch on the number of Intelligences, nor on Freedom, nor on the unending power of the First Moving Cause. These should be treated in connection with the Metaphysics and on the lines of Aristotle. The text of Books II., III., and IV. of the *de Caelo* is to be taken in summary, and with the omission of parts. Only a few points about the Elements need be discussed, of the Heaven only the Substances need be mentioned, and its Influences. Everything else may be left to the Professor of Mathematics, or given in extract."* And Rule 12 contains the general admonition: "Great pains must be taken in expounding the Aristotelian text, which must be done as zealously as the discussion of the questions themselves. The pupils must also be admonished that those who pay no regard to the text of Aristotle can have but an incomplete idea of philosophy."

It was not till the year 1832 that additions were made to the *Ratio* which showed an advance on the scientific knowledge of Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas, and bore a more adequate relation to the nature and requirements of this important branch of natural science. Only once, in the fourth part of the Constitutions of the Order, where the educational system, on which the scheme of instruction is based, is expounded, is there any mention of natural science (*scientiae naturales*), and then only in connection with the admonition that it should be taught with a view to theology, which it would have to serve (*inservire*). And the *Ratio* treats it in much the same fashion.†

* Rule 10 for the Teacher of Philosophy.
† Rule 1 for the Teacher of Philosophy.

But the following circumstance is decisive for the educational system of the Order and its power of adaptation.

The 23rd General Congregation, held in the year 1883 under the presidency of the General Antonius Maria Anderledy, resolved by its 16th decree :

" Further, the Congregation declares that Decree 36 of the 16th and Decree 13 of the 17th General Congregations are still in force ; and that we must abide by that philosophy which is there declared to be of most service to theology. But in order that the teaching of the Professor of Metaphysics in accordance with its theses should not be overthrown by the Professor of Physics in opposition to the theses, this Congregation [held in the year 1883 !] decrees that in our schools experimental physics are to be taught in such a manner that nothing is stated in opposition to the system of the nature and composition of natural bodies which is there laid down [*i.e.* the peripatetic system of Aristotle]. This decree was presented by our very venerable Father [the General of the Order] to the Pope [Leo XIII.], who approved it greatly, and insisted on its exact observance." *

Now the decrees of the 16th and 17th General Congregations (of 1706 and 1751), which were restated by the 23rd Congregation in 1883 as " rules " for the instruction of the Order, were as follows :—

" Since the Society of Jesus has decreed the utility of the philosophy of Aristotle for the ends of theology, we are to adhere to it, in accordance with the regulations laid down in the statutes and in the Scheme of Studies, and this not only in Logic and Metaphysics, but also in Natural Philosophy, from which Aristotle's teaching as to the nature and composition of natural bodies must not be omitted. If the Provincial Superiors discover that modernising persons deviate from this philosophy, either openly

* *Monum. Germ. paed.*, 2, 118 *et seq.*

or under specious pretences, and attempt to put other views in their place, they are to be deprived of their teaching office." *

"The Congregation resolves to teach and defend the Aristotelian system in the physical instruction generally."†

In mathematics the *Ratio* prescribes instruction in the Elements of Euclid for about three-quarters of an hour,‡ and it was not till 1832 that they began to disregard an author whose methods are more than two thousand years behind the times. §

The attitude of the *Ratio Studiorum* to history reveals an excess of didactic confusion and stupidity. It declines to recognise it as an independent branch of study, and what could be more wrong-headed and stupid than the regulations laid down in the following:—

Part IV., cp. 12 of the Constitutions mentions History as a part of the Humanities, and the "new" *Ratio* of 1832 relegates it in a single word to "Rhetoric." ‖ "The first known regulation for the systematic treatment of history" in Jesuit institutions dates from the eighteenth century, and even this "is only concerned with Biblical History." ¶ Even at the present day the Constitutions and Study Schemes of the Order recognise no systematic treatment of history. My experiences at the Jesuit College at Wynandsrade will suffice to show how history is taught in the "Rhetoric" of the Order.

Botany, geology, zoology are not even named in the scheme now in force. A science so important as chemistry receives but one single mention.

In the "higher faculties"—theology and philosophy—

* Congreg. 16, Decret. 36. † Congret. 17, Decret. 13.

‡ Rules for the Teacher of Mathematics.

§ This criticism would scarcely be endorsed by English schoolmasters, many of whom viewed with regret the recent passing of Euclid.—*Translator.*

‖ Rule 3 for the Teacher of Rhetoric.

¶ Rule 6 for the Teacher of Philosophy.

as in physics, Thomas Aquinas and Aristotle are still to be followed. No modern theologians or philosophers are even named. In regard to "philosophers who are hostile to the Christian religion," the "new" scheme characteristically states:—

"If anything good in them has to be mentioned, the teacher of philosophy must do so without any words of praise, and if possible show that it is derived from some other source." *

In exegesis the only translation to be considered is that sanctioned by the Church—*i.e.* the Latin Vulgate; and the original Hebrew and Greek texts "are only to be cited when any difference between them and the Vulgate requires to be reconciled, or when the distinctive expressions of the other languages contribute to the clearness or significance of the expression." †

A strange notion of scholarship! To permit the reference to the original text in two cases only, the condition of the one being the possibility of twisting the original into the interpretation of the incorrect translation. It would be hard to parallel.

For the teaching of Latin grammar even the scheme "adapted to the needs of the day" in 1832 only recognises a primer composed in the sixteenth century by the Jesuit Emanuel Alvarez. And at the present time the Provincial is instructed to provide for the use of a grammar in three parts on the lines of Emanuel's system.‡

The enormous advance made by philology in respect of both matter and form is disregarded on principle by the *Ratio Studiorum*, which would, if possible, even at this day, "divide the Rules of Emanuel into three parts, so that each of the three Grammar Classes may have its

* Rule 6 for the Teacher of Philosophy.
† Rules 2 and 4 for the Teacher of Holy Scripture.
‡ Rule 23 (1) for the Provincial.

own text-book."* Indeed, wherever the Order is able to disregard external influences, such as are imposed by the State, it still continues, uninfluenced by philological considerations, to use Emanuel's old grammar in all its schools. At the Jesuit College of St. Michael, at Freiburg, in Switzerland, it was still prescribed in 1843 for use in the third and fourth classes.† Its eventual disappearance from the Jesuit schools about the middle of the nineteenth century was due solely to external circumstances, which compelled them to adopt better methods of instruction. ‡ Only under such compulsion will they swerve from their Scheme of Studies, faithful to the philological traditions of their Order, and adhering tenaciously to those Jesuit school-books which, in the opinion of experts, "abound in philological errors." As an instance I quote the criticism from the *Jahrbücher für klassische Philologie* § of a Latin and Greek grammar in use at the Jesuit High School at Ragusa in 1868. After citing a series of examples testifying to the most incredible ignorance of grammatical etymology, it continues :—

"In the theoretical treatment of the Latin language it appears, to judge from the very sparse quotations, that the most recent book with which the author is acquainted

* Rule 8 (2) for the Prefect of Gymnasium studies, and Rule 12 (1) for the Teachers of the Lower Grades.

† *Monum. Germ. paed.*, 16, 540.

‡ Johann Kelle, Professor at the University of Prague (*d.* 1909), gives some quaint specimens of Emanuel's learning in his two books, *Die Jesuitengymnasien in Oesterreich vom Anfange des vorigen Jahrhunderts bis auf die Gegenwart* (Prague 1873) and *Die Jesuitengymnasien in Oesterreich* (Munich, 1876). His criticisms annoyed the Order so greatly that a Jesuit, R. Ebner, was set to refute them in a volume of 715 pages, entitled *Beleuchtung der Schrift des Herrn Dr. Johann Kelle : Die Jesuitengymnasien in Oesterreich* (Linz, 1874), in which Kelle was accused of falsifying, distorting, etc. Kelle responded with a volume which contains material derived from original letters of Jesuit authorities (Generals, Provincials, and Rectors) in the Court Library at Vienna and hitherto unpublished, charged with accusations against the Order and its system of instruction. I shall have occasion to refer to this again.

§ Fourth year, Leipzig, 1858, pp. 143, 147.

is the Latin School Grammar of G. J. Vossius, Amsterdam, 1710. He also has recourse to Alvarus, de instit. Gramm., Venice, 1575 [the Jesuit mentioned above]. . . . The ignorance of the author [the Jesuit J. Gretser] of this Greek Grammar is so unfathomable that any attempt at sounding it, or finding a standard of comparison, is wasted labour. A schoolboy in his first year of Greek, even the stupidest, could not invent so many impossible grammatical blunders as the author of this book produces and sells to us for knowledge. . . . What must be the philological standard of a teaching staff that chooses such a book as a guide for its pupils!"

The history of education in Austria affords an excellent illustration of the worthlessness of the Jesuit curriculum, and the stupid obstinacy with which the Order, regardless of the needs and progress of the age, adheres to its foolish system of instruction. I deal with this in detail, because I was myself educated at one of the Austrian schools under Jesuit direction.

For a century and a half the Jesuits set their impress on Austrian education, an impress which remained even after the dissolution of the Order in 1773. It was not till sixty years later that the Imperial State of the Habsburgs began to reorganise its education. The criticisms passed at that time on the system of teaching, which was still so largely dominated by the Jesuits, furnish the strongest condemnation of the work of that Order. A report laid before an Imperial Commission on Education in 1840 says:—

"At the present time the teaching is dissipated, the desire for knowledge stifled, in spite of great efforts little is achieved, and the young people know nothing of the delight of gaining fresh knowledge. In spite of all the Latin teaching and conversation—a point on which the Jesuit Scheme of Study lays especial stress—they are

incapable, at the end of seven years, of writing a Latin composition. The language lessons are a mere dry scaffolding of explanations and rules. Their reading of the classical languages is confined to books of selections, short extracts from many authors of the most various styles. No attempt is made to study a classical author in his style and ideas. At the history lesson no historical maps are used. The mathematical teaching is beneath criticism. The simplest arithmetical processes are spread over six years, and yet treated in the scantiest fashion. In fact, arithmetic is unlearnt by the pupils."

Now began a fierce struggle against rooted prejudices. At last, in 1849, there appeared a "Scheme for the Organisation of Gymnasia," which was in the main adapted to the needs of a modern State. It was to be practically tested for eight years, then, after revision by a Commission, to become law. But when, in November, 1857, the conclusions of the Commission were published, progressive Austrian educationists discovered to their dismay that the findings betokened a relapse into the old Jesuit system.

After its re-establishment the Order had gradually won back considerable influence in Austria, and expected to take charge of a great many gymnasia. These were, of course, to be conducted on the lines of the *Ratio Studiorum.* The Jesuits strained every nerve to procure the alteration in all essentials of the objectionable new scheme, and in fact the Order and its *Ratio Studiorum* did win the day over the Austrian State and its scheme for the organisation of gymnasia. Gradually the schools were again handed over to the Jesuits, to be conducted on their old humanistic and didactic methods, instead of the State regulations. The Austrian Minister of Education surrendered unconditionally to the General of the Order, Peter Beckx. The correspondence between these two, the representative of the State desirous of

keeping in the van of educational progress and the Jesuit General who preferred to abide by the standpoint of the sixteenth century, is extraordinarily interesting, for every page bears testimony to the reactionary spirit, the revolt against State authority, the resistance to adaptability and progress, and obstinate insistence on the principles of the Order laid down three hundred years ago.

These peculiarities, so disastrous for education, are manifested in many ways. It is only for the last thirty years that the Order, impelled by necessity and not of its own free will, has consented to send young scholastics to be trained at the universities for the teaching profession and examinations, in accordance with modern requirements.

During my Feldkirch residence (1861–69), and for several years after, only two among the whole number of class teachers had any professional training. Of these, Georg Michael Pachtler, one of the collaborators in the *Monumenta Germaniae paedagogica*, had acquired his philological knowledge at State institutions before entering the Order. His possession of these qualifications was therefore merely accidental so far as his position as class teacher was concerned. The rest of the teachers were young scholastics with no special preparation, who had entered the Order as boys of fifteen, sixteen, or seventeen, from the second or third class of a gymnasium or an ecclesiastical seminary. For the two years of their novitiate their studies had been laid aside, and after this interruption they spent the next two or three years in the old cumbrous and very defective humanistic course of the Order, passing through the classes of Grammar, Humanity, and Rhetoric. This was followed by a three years' philosophy course, at the end of which they were dismissed as fully equipped for teaching in the gymnasia. In the fullest and worst sense their maxim was *docendo discimus*, for

they were often compelled to acquire by strenuous exertion, in a few weeks before the beginning of a session, the whole of the subjects which they would have to teach during the coming year.

I well remember that we pupils were struck by the scanty knowledge of Latin and Greek possessed by our form master in the third class. He would continually make some pretext for postponing answers to our questions, and we soon discovered that he had first to seek information from some one else before he could answer. Another Feldkirch form master told me that he had been appointed to teach Greek without the slightest knowledge of the language, and what a grind it had been to prepare himself in the short interval between his appointment and his entrance into office.

Indeed, naïve expression is given to this auto-didactic principle in the *Ratio Studiorum* itself, even in the later edition.

"Care should also be taken to let our scholars begin their work as teachers in a class to which they are superior in knowledge, so that they may be able to pass on yearly with a large proportion of their pupils to a higher division."*

Yet so wedded was Austrian clericalism to the old jog-trot methods that the Jesuits were allowed to continue for several decades giving instruction at the gymnasia after this fashion. Even here, however, the awakening of a State consciousness helped to arouse an educational consciousness, and Austria demanded of the Jesuits the minimum qualification for instruction, a complete professional training.

It is only since then that any professional training for teaching has been recognised by the Order. And even now it is an exception, and exists alongside of, but not as a part of, the educational system. It is not an essential,

* Rule 29 for the Provincial.

for officially the antiquated *Ratio Studiorum* still holds the field, and while recognising only the requirements of long past times and civilisations, stubbornly defends its old position.

A proof of this stubbornness is the unwilling recognition by the 23rd General Congregation of 1883 of State examinations and some adaptation to the requirements of modern knowledge, such as mathematics and natural science, yet with this admonition :—

" Care must, however, be taken not to interfere with the *Ratio Studiorum* of the Society, nor must any departure be allowed from the prescribed three years' philosophy course for the benefit of mathematics and natural science."*

This means that, while the Order can no longer avoid adapting itself to modern requirements, lest the countries in which it possesses public educational establishments should withdraw their licence to teach, it yet abides stubbornly by its out-of-date *Ratio Studiorum.* This must remain intact, and, at any rate in the training of its own young members, the newer sciences must give way to the old traditional three years' philosophy course, in which the chief place is occupied by Aristotle and Plato, Averroes and Avicenna, Ollam, Peter Lombard, Duns Scotus and Thomas Aquinas, while for Kant and the whole of modern philosophy a few theses must suffice.

When, therefore, eulogists of the Order, especially its own literary members, from the fact that the *Ratio Studiorum* of the sixteenth century still maintains its position, deduce the marvellous excellence of the Jesuit scheme of instruction and education, which has survived unaltered for centuries and is as workable to-day as it was more than three centuries ago, we can but call this a not unusual Jesuitical distortion of facts. The very reverse is the truth.

These achievements, which by no means exceed the

* Decrees 21, 22, 23, *Monum. Germ. paed.*, 2, 122 *et seq.*

average, are not to be placed to the account of the Jesuit system of instruction, for they are due to the beneficent influence of outward circumstances, which even the antiquated Jesuit system could not permanently resist. So, and not otherwise, can the results of the system be rightly estimated.

The following summary will give some idea of the retrograde methods of the Scheme of Study.

There are to be five classes for gymnasium studies; one for rhetoric, one for humanity, and three for grammar. The prefect is to see to it that the curriculum for each is kept distinct. He should make a division in three parts of Emanuel's Grammar, so that each class may keep to its own.

In the humanity class the time should be arranged so that in the first three-quarters of an hour every morning the rhetorical rules and the Latin author are to be heard by the decurions; then the teacher looks through the written work which has been handed in to the decurions and the marks given by them. Then follows an explanation on the rule. The next half-hour is devoted to the public correction of the written exercises. In the next three-quarters of an hour the last lesson is to be repeated and a new one explained. The last half-hour is to be given to the less important subjects or concertation. In the afternoon the first hour is devoted to rhetorical rules and the Latin author, and the master looks over the marks and corrects the exercises. Then the rules are explained and repeated. In the second hour a Latin poet should be construed, and on alternate days a Greek or vernacular author, followed by dictation. The last half-hour is given to concertation or minor subjects. The arrangements for the rhetoric class are very similar.* Surely a school with

* Rule 21 for the Provincial; Rule 8 for the Prefect of Gymnasium studies; Rule 2 for the Teacher of the Humanities; Rule 2 for the Teacher of the highest Gymnasium class.

such a division of classes, such a curriculum, and such methods, including the use of a sixteenth-century grammar in the present day, is no better than a fossil. It has no life of its own, and can infuse none into others. And yet we must not forget this fossilised scheme of study is intended for our own day. If it is not followed and its valuelessness not revealed, the credit is not due to the Order and its educational ability, but rather to other usually hostile factors; in particular, non-Jesuit didactics, which are despised by the Jesuits as far below theirs.

Of the *Ratio Studiorum*, as of so much else in the Jesuit constitution, it may be said that it exists on paper, but as regards essentials not in practice. To carry it out in its entirety proved disadvantageous for the Order, either generally or at certain times and under special conditions. And yet it is praised as though it were still fruitful and effective, as a sign of the eternal youth of the Order, a manifestation of the "supernaturally enlightened wisdom" of its founder Ignatius Loyola, who, overlooking time and space, appointed regulations which would never grow antiquated, but always renew their own youth.

Such praise has no foundation in truth, but it helps to build up the edifice of the Society's fame.

And the condemnation is the greater because the Jesuit system of instruction possessed capacities of development such as could nowhere else be found. I have already mentioned the almost inexhaustible means at the disposal of the Order, and the favours it enjoyed from Church and State. It is for this very reason that the success of the system when weighed in the balance is found wanting. We need only call to mind France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Austria, Bavaria, and the many German electorates and principalities where the Jesuit schools were quite specially favoured, and remember that for centuries they must have had under their hands the very best pupils of each country.

Yet nowhere do we hear of any success surpassing that of other institutions. In size and splendour the Jesuit schools were unequalled. But in quality they never rose above the common level.

A system of study whose main regulations are not applicable to the present day, which can only maintain itself in appearance by contradicting itself in all essentials, must be accounted bad. There may have been a time when it was good, but it is long past. It may have an historical value, but from the practical and didactic point of view it is valueless.

Yet this is not the cause of the real badness—or rather worthlessness—of the system. This is to be sought in the principles which underlie it. For the system of instruction is the natural outcome of the Order, and shares in its fundamental vice, unlimited egoism.

Under the most polished smoothness of exterior, and under its religious and ascetic externals, the Order in every form of its activity conceals such a mass of brutal self-interest as is nowhere else to be found organised and systematised in one great community, within the two thousand years of the Christian era.

The typical egotism of the Order also dominates its educational system. In the first place, it is really a mark of this egotism that the scheme of instruction is not drawn up for the sake of the young people outside its ranks, but for those who intend to join the Order, the scholastics of the Society of Jesus, "our own" (*Nostri*), as they are designated in the Constitutions and Rules. All the wise directions and the careful consideration shown in the *Ratio Studiorum* are in the first instance directed towards the profit of the Order itself. The "external" students receive only secondary consideration. Their needs must be subordinated to a system meant to serve the interests of the Order; they are an addendum, not a principal object.

A proof of this is afforded by the fourth part of the Regulations, which are the basis of the whole system and its *Ratio Studiorum*. The introductory heading shows its exclusive reference to the Order :—

" Part IV. of the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus. Concerning the instruction in knowledge of those who are to be retained in the Society, and of other matters which help us to benefit our neighbour."

In the introduction we find :—

" The Society takes over colleges, and sometimes also universities or general educational establishments; in which those persons, who have been approved in the houses* during their probationary period, but are not equipped with the education required by our Institute, are instructed in the various branches of knowledge and all else that is advantageous for the soul's welfare. Therefore we shall treat first of that which concerns the colleges, then of that which concerns the general educational establishments."

The explanation (*declaratio*)† appended to the introduction is particularly important. It gives in general outline the aim of the Order, and the manner of increasing, by means of various studies, from the lowest to the highest, the number of capable members suited to its needs. And it is the general character of the expression in this and the following seventeen chapters, touching only on the " work

* The Residences of the Jesuits, with the exception of those used for purposes of study and called Colleges, are known as Houses; in particular, novitiate and professed houses. Houses with only a few inmates, or Settlements, used chiefly as centres of spiritual activity, are also known as Residences. The term Convent is foreign to Jesuit terminology.

† The official preface to the Declarations and Explanations of the Constitutions of the Order (*Proœmium in Declarationes et Annotationes Constitutionum*) characterises the Declarations as of no less authority than the Constitutions (*cf.* the Prague edition, declared authentic by the 18th General Congregation, I., 357). I specially call attention to the authority of the Declarations, because Jesuits (*e.g.* Ebner) are apt to set them aside when anything is quoted from them which expounds the Constitutions in a manner displeasing to themselves.

and aim of the Society of Jesus" and the intellectual equipment of its own members, which shows that all the ordinances are in the first instance intended for "Nostri," and that the references to scholastic arrangements for "externals" must be considered from the point of view of the interest of the Order.

"Since the aim and motive that the Society sets before itself is to preach the Word of God, to hear confessions, . . . it appeared to us necessary, and in accordance with wisdom, that those who wish to enter the Society should be men of virtuous character and adapted for their vocation by intellectual training. And because it is rare to find men who are both good and learned . . . we recognised that it would be difficult to increase the Society by such men. . . . Therefore it seemed to all of us, who desire the preservation and growth of the Society, that another way was more suitable; the admission of youths . . . and the institution of colleges. . . . First then we must treat of that which refers to the colleges, then of that which refers to the universities."

In Chapter 2 it is laid down that if the Society takes over colleges, the profit which the Society of Jesus itself may derive from them must, above all, be borne in mind; and if in the course of time any college that has been taken over should prove burdensome to the Society, it is to be given up.

Chapter 3 treats of the scholars who are to be admitted to the colleges. But here "scholars" refers exclusively to the "scholastics" of the Society of Jesus, and not to external pupils.

"As to the scholastics for whose sake colleges are to be taken over, we must ponder in the Lord what manner of men they should be, that they may be sent and admitted to the colleges."

Above all, no one who suffers from any of the five

disabilities which exclude from the Society of Jesus may be included in the ranks of scholastics in any college of the Society. . . . Further, only those can be admitted as approved scholars who have been approved for two years in the houses or colleges, who during the space of two years have undergone the various experiments and probations (of the novitiate) and, having taken the vows and undertaken to enter the Order, are accepted as intending to remain in it permanently, to the glory of God.

"Also the studies may be pursued by certain youths, who before the end of the two years of the novitiate and the probation are sent from the houses to the colleges (because this may seem better in the Lord), or have been left behind in these; but they do not count as approved scholastics till, on the completion of the two years, having taken the vows and made that promise, they are included in the number of regular scholastics."

A remark in the *Declaratio* emphasises still further the principle that the colleges were really only meant for the scholastics of the Society:—

"If the number of scholastics in the colleges of the Society, who have devoted themselves by their promise and their resolve to serve God in the Society, should not be sufficient, it is not contrary to our constitution, with the permission of the General and for as long as seems good to him, to admit other poor scholars, who have formed no such resolve."

And even these poor scholars, with their knowledge, virtue, and edifying walk, are to serve the ends of the colleges, though only admitted as stop-gaps. For the *Declaratio* to Chapter 9 states:—

"In regard to the term of seven years [for which these scholastics have been admitted to the colleges of the Order], a dispensation may be given and the period lengthened, if these pupils by their walk contribute greatly to

edification, so that they may help to further the service of God, or prove useful to the college itself."

Chapter 4 regulates the exercises of piety for the students, and here again no mention is made of any but Jesuit scholastics.

Chapter 5, with the superscription "Of the learning which the scholastics of the Society are to acquire," treats of the study of the classical languages, philosophy, and theology, and the time to be devoted to them. Even these directions, detailed as they are, make no mention of "external" students.

Chapter 6 treats of the "means of enabling the scholastics of the Society of Jesus to become proficient in the various branches of knowledge."

Not till we reach the short Chapter 7 do we find any mention of "the schools of the colleges of the Society" —*i.e.* schools in which external pupils were instructed. But even this chapter makes it clear that the main object of Jesuit instruction was the good of the Order. The very first sentence says:—

"With a view not only to the progress in knowledge of our own scholastics, but also the intellectual and moral improvement of the external students whom we have admitted into our colleges for instruction, public schools are to be established, where this can conveniently be done, at any rate for instruction in the humanities."

This shows that even when schools for external students are under consideration it is the progress of "our own" members that receives first consideration. Chapters 8, 9, and 10 are again solely concerned with these, and with the educational establishments intended for the Order.

The concluding Chapters 11 to 17 deal with the universities under the direction of the Jesuits, which will, of course, also be attended by external students. But, as

already pointed out, the Introduction and Declaration treat of all grades of study, and all kinds of educational establishments, whether colleges or universities, exclusively with a view to the profit which the Order may derive from them.

If the egotism of the Order appears thus prominently in the Constitutions when they deal with education, it is natural that the *Ratio Studiorum* which reflects their spirit should be no less egotistic. To prove this a single passage will suffice.

" Because the Society of Jesus undertakes the management of schools and universities in order that our own members may conveniently be instructed in knowledge and in all else that is profitable to the welfare of souls, and may be able to communicate to others what they themselves have learnt, the first endeavour of the Rector, after providing for religion and virtue, must be with the help of God to accomplish that end which the Society has proposed to itself in taking over the charge of gymnasia." *

Surely it would be impossible to express more clearly the egotistic aim and purpose of the whole Jesuit system of instruction, and its much lauded altruistic labours in the gymnasia and universities.

Another egotistic practice is the exclusive use of Jesuit text-books, except, indeed, where compelled by the State to introduce books by non-Jesuits. No matter how much behind the modern methods such text-books may be, or how many mistakes they contain, it makes no difference ; they are retained in use. For it is not the pupils' progress in knowledge with which the Order is concerned, but the retention of its own spirit, and the didactic routine which prevails in the Order is best expressed and propagated by grammars and exercises composed by its own members.

* Rule 1 for the Rector.

An ordinance issued by the Provincial G. Hermann for the Upper German Gymnasia of the Order in the year 1766, recommends seventeen text-books, among which there is not a single one by a non-Jesuit author.*

This institution of Jesuit text-books is closely connected with their internationalism, for Jesuits recognise only the text-books of the Order, not those of a nation. In the ordinance just quoted fourteen of the books recommended are by foreigners, Italians, French, Walloons, and yet it applies exclusively to German schools.

But the egotism and false conception of education are most clearly revealed by the avowed aim of the Order to establish the same curriculum for all countries, and, so far as possible, for all ages. This desire is emphasised by all commentators of the *Ratio Studiorum*. Thus Pachtler writes :—

"To compose such a scheme of studies was no light task. It was to endure for centuries, and take into account the needs of the various countries and peoples among whom the Order taught and laboured. . . . An Order as strongly centralised as the Society of Jesus, which sends its professors from one country to another wherever the need is greatest, was absolutely compelled to establish unity in its school instruction and scheme of studies."†

If anyone at the present day desired to publish schemes of study and instruction which should endure for centuries and satisfy the needs of various countries, he would be laughed to scorn. For international identity and temporal invariability are impossible in education, which is specially bound to regard the requirements and changes of times and peoples. Anyone who seriously seeks to accomplish such a thing must be impelled not by the desire to benefit the persons to be instructed, but by some other motive.

* *Monum. Germ. paed.*, 16, 54 *et seq.*

† *Ibid.*, 5, V. and 3.

And this motive is the Order itself, which desires to remain always the same, regardless of time, place, or people. Hence the uniformity and invariability of the *Ratio Studiorum*. The Moloch of egotism is in no way concerned with the weal and woe, progress and prosperity, of the objects of its international activity.

Of course, the Jesuits themselves are well aware of the egotism of their educational system, but they try in every possible way to disguise it, and emphasise the wholly undeserved reputation of the *Ratio Studiorum* as a deeply considered original and pioneer achievement, directed towards the school system as a whole.

For in composing it, we are told, the Order considered, not its own needs, but those of the young people. No one has more daringly distorted facts to prove this than Pachtler. In his explanations he states that "this or that passage [in the above quoted regulations] seems to refer in the first instance to the students or scholastics of the Order itself."* No less misleading is a remark made by his colleague Duhr, though even he is compelled to a partial admission :—

"In the *Ratio Studiorum* the distinction between external and Jesuit scholars is more difficult, but still it can easily be recognised by those who have made a careful study of the Institute [this is by no means a fact], because the *Ratio Studiorum* applies to both kinds of scholar."†

But there is another sort of egotism, less directly expressed, which might, indeed, be called indirect egotism. If anything, it is stronger and more lasting in its effects.

Properly regarded, teaching is a life profession. But in the Jesuit Order it is an experiment, mere practice to assist the development of the scholastics of the Society.

* *Monum. Germ. paed.*, 2, 8.
† *Ibid.*, p. 30.

Magister and Prefect—*i.e.* teacher and educator—are mere steps in the regular development of the young Jesuit. For the sake of the Order, which requires members "who are practised in all things" (*in omnibus exercitati*), the youthful scholastic at a definite period of his apprenticeship is sent into the class-room, only to leave it at the end of another fixed period, and move on elsewhere in the course of his development, in accordance with the interest of the Order.

As a rule, a Jesuit is expected to get his practice in teaching at the end of his philosophy. After this, according to my own experience in the German Province, he is sent to Feldkirch in the Vorarlberg, Ordrupshoj in Denmark, or to a mission at Buffalo in North America, or Brazil in South America, or Bombay in the East Indies, where he becomes a class or subject teacher in one of the colleges. So long as it seems good to his superiors, two, three, four, or even five years he remains a magister; then the teaching experiment is at an end, and he enters on a new and final stage of his development, the study of theology.

All the while he is occupied in teaching, the young Jesuit knows that he is only passing through a transition stage, that he has not reached his goal or even the main occupation of his life. The goal of theology, the last stage of his training, is ever before his eyes, and every year he looks for the order of his superior which will transfer him from the *magisterium* to the theology course. It is obvious that the consciousness of the temporary character of his work does not stimulate the Jesuit teacher to fruitful endeavour.

Thus the staff of a Jesuit school is constantly changing. The scholastic Jesuits pass through the various classes at definite periods and definite intervals, and the masters change annually, for every year some end their teaching

labours and begin their theology, while others pass on from philosophy to teaching. It is impossible to become identified with the teaching profession, for just when the identification would begin after one, two, or three years, the scholastic is told to move on and make room for another, a new-comer such as he used to be. "Your time of practice in the class-room is at an end; it is his turn now."

Another unfortunate circumstance adds its injurious effect. The longer the scholastic continues his teaching labours, the greater is his dislike for the occupation. He is eager to pass on, to attain the goal of his own development.

During my four years' theology I heard the *magistri*—who every year passed from the various educational institutions into the theology course—express their satisfaction at their deliverance from the *damnatio ad bestias*, the slang expression for the teaching period, and rejoice that intercourse with the young pupils was over at last, and the desired goal of their own development at hand. Bitter dislike of an occupation, which is itself a compulsory experiment, not a self-chosen profession, is an evil counsellor and attendant. How evil we may learn from one who is well acquainted with the Order and also one of its warmest adherents.

Cornova was a Jesuit for seventeen years, and the bond of years was broken, much against his will, in 1773 by the suppression of the Order, to which he remained sincerely devoted to the end of his days, a devotion manifested by a treatise in defence of the Jesuit system of education. No one could have been better fitted for the task, as during his membership he had been almost exclusively occupied with the work of teaching. He says:—

"The rule that all Jesuits without exception must spend some time in the instruction of youth is undoubtedly open

to objection. Not everyone is suited for the work of teaching. . . . Of course, it was an advantage to the Society itself, for their work as teachers served as a school of morals for young Jesuits, since men never exercise more control over themselves than when they are compelled to control others. Still, even the advantage accruing to the Order did not exempt it from the obligation, incurred by taking over the public schools, to do the best in its power for the young people entrusted to its care. In reality it would have been right to exempt from teaching all those who had no capacity for this occupation."*

Thus even a friend of the Order, and one whose own labours were almost exclusively devoted to teaching, realises that the basis of Jesuit instruction is egotism.

But the system insists on this practice, so long as it is free to act according to its own rule. Thus the *Ratio Studiorum* summarily lays down that :—

" Our scholastics are not to be exempted by the Provincial from giving instruction in grammar and the humanities, unless on account of their age or some other definite reason it shall seem good to him so to do."†

Accordingly all young Jesuits must become teachers and must for a period exercise their faculties on the abundant material afforded by the pupils. Whether capable or incapable, willing or unwilling, the Order compels its members to practise teaching and experiment with young persons. In a letter from the General Vincent Caraffa, sent on the 28th of July, 1646, to the Bohemian Provincial John Dackazat, and communicated by him to his Province, we read :—

" Our Very Reverend Father‡ bids and commands me,

* Cornova, *Die Jesuiten als Gymnasiallehrer*, Prague, 1804, pp. 94 *et seq.*

† Rule 26 for the Provincial.

‡ *Admodum Reverendus Pater Noster*, usually written A.R.P.N., is the officia title of the General of the Order.

as our Society does not assign any definite period for instruction in the lower schools, to employ for this purpose all without distinction, and particularly those who detest this occupation."*

The Jesuit Order, then, appoints teachers who detest their occupation. They are to be utilised preferably for the work, and their appointment is an essential part of the educational system. Surely we are entitled to say that the Order is concerned not for the pupils but for itself, and the uniform working of its own mechanism, the uniform development of its own members.

This is how matters stood during my Feldkirch residence and down to the end of the sixties of the last century. Now they have altered, though only where the State insists on teachers with a Government certificate. There the Order must depart from its system, and those who have passed the State examinations are usually allowed to continue in their posts.

Yet even here there are exceptions. For everywhere and always the first law known to a Jesuit is obedience—*i.e.* the interest of the Order; everywhere and always the Jesuit knows that he neither has, nor is meant to have, an abiding place or abiding occupation. "One foot in the air": this, according to our Master of the Novices, Father Meschler, was the attitude of a Jesuit in every position and occupation. No matter how many Government examinations a Jesuit may have passed, no matter how useful he may be to his class or the whole school, it makes no difference. If the interest and egoism of the Order require it—and of this the Superior alone is the judge—a Jesuit must leave his post at a day's, or even an hour's, notice. He turns his back on school, pupils, and classes, books and exercises, as though he had never been concerned with them. For he is not there for his own

* Vienna Court Library, Codex No. 12,029, p. 100, from Kelle, pp. 48 to 258.

sake, nor for the things and persons to whose interest he is outwardly devoted, but solely and entirely in the interest of the Order.

This conception, which is clearly shown by the above considerations to be the correct one, is further expressed in the *Ratio Studiorum* :—

"Care should be taken that those who show special ability for preaching are not retained too long in teaching, whether the humanities or philosophy or theology, so that they may not delay entering the preaching office till they have almost grown grey in those studies."*

This instruction refers to Jesuits who have completed their training. Since there is no question of their further development, they might quite well continue to instruct in the humanities or philosophy or theology till they grow grey or even white, and their continuance would be to the advantage of their pupils. But in the Order preaching is of more importance than teaching, and that is why they are taken from the work of instruction.

Even before the compulsion exercised by the State examinations on the Order there were, at any rate at Feldkirch, Jesuits who were practically permanent in their posts. This does not, however, alter the fact that the mass of Jesuit teachers were in a state of transition and flux. In this stream the fixed portions were exceptions. And even these few were not firmly anchored to the teaching profession, since they might at any moment be ordered by the Superior to change their occupation.

It is impossible to attach too much importance to the consciousness, impressed on every Jesuit from the first day of his novitiate, of the uncertainty of his dwelling-place and the variability of his occupations. Of the utmost significance for the mobility and readiness of the Order, it has a harmful effect on the steady, calm labour of the

* Rule 26 for the Provincial.

individual Jesuit, producing, as it does, indifference—in the view of the Order holy indifference (*sancta indifferentia*) —to the nature of his occupation. Yet surely this is not the right frame of mind for the instructors of youth, especially as the Constitutions of the Order require inward detachment from the occupation for the time being. Attachment to places, persons, things, and occupations is to be combated by the Jesuit with all his power. Even as educator and instructor he is to be a fitting tool (*instrumentum idoneum*) in the hands of his Superior for the purposes of the Order, but only a tool, or as it is expressed in the Constitutions :—

" Every one must be directed and led by the Superior as though he were a corpse, which is carried hither and thither in any fashion, or as though he were the staff of some old man, which serves him who carries it [the Order] where and how he pleases."*

But what can we expect from instructors of youth who are to be corpses and staves in their thoughts and actions ?

Again, the internationalism of the *Ratio Studiorum*—*i.e.* its uniformity for all countries—is egotism and a severe hindrance to its fruitful activity.

For the international Order of Jesuits, which is essentially interested in uniformity, the extirpation of national differences in its members, a uniform international system of instruction is doubtless a primary condition. This is clearly expressed by the Seventh General Congregation of the Order : " Novitiate houses, colleges, and seminaries must not be occupied only by persons of the nationality of the country ; it is better, in conformity with the universal custom of the Society, to introduce some members from other countries, lest differences of nationality should gradually make way among us, to the great injury of the Society.

* *Summarium Constitutionum*, 36, II., 73.

Nor yet must it be permitted that in those towns where the Society has its own colleges and houses, the professors of theology, philosophy, or humanity be chosen solely from that particular nationality, still less the superiors, for this is directly opposed to the customs of the Society."*

But a country ought to have its own system of education based on its own national requirements. Schemes of study which seek to level down national peculiarities are bad; and if they are directed towards the advantage of an international organisation instead of a particular nation, this levelling educational system can only be designated as selfishly international.

The force of circumstances has gradually compelled the Jesuit Order to accommodate its Scheme of Study somewhat to national requirements, as is shown by some of the ordinances of General Congregations, Generals, Provincials and Rectors. But the system, as such, retains its international character; and it never seems to have occurred to the final authorities to make any essential alterations in it. Rather they seek to imply that the modifications and changes which they had been compelled to make in national practice have been organically developed from its system of study. Though the actual wording of the *Ratio Studiorum* indicates its international character sufficiently to disprove such statements, Jesuits imagine, rightly enough, that very few even among the educated ever read the *Ratio Studiorum* or the Fourth Part of the Constitutions, which relates to their system of study. So its eulogists continue to refer boldly to Rule 39 for the Provincial, in proof that the system does recognise national differences. But they forget to mention that the differences there recognised do not concern really national peculiarities, but only externals and such matters as time-tables, repetitions, disputations, and holidays. And even

* Decree 21 (3) from *Institutum Societatis Jesu*, I., 594 (ed. Prague, 1757).

in regard to these unessentials, emphasis is laid on the injunction "to follow as closely as possible the universal scheme of study."

Even here, then, we get glimpses of the international purpose.

Pachtler, in an unguarded moment, thus expresses the internationalism of the Order in education:—

"So strongly centralised an Order as the Society of Jesus, which sends its professors from one country to another, wherever the need is greatest, required absolute unity in its school system, methods of instruction and arrangement of studies"—*i.e.* a scheme of studies elaborated in every detail,* which, a few pages farther on, he calls "a work intended to endure for centuries in all countries." †

This is decisive. The strong centralisation of the Order, the uniform threads which stretch from a single nucleus over Germany, Spain, England, Italy, Austria, Belgium, Portugal, Denmark, Holland, United States, India, Canada and South America, show that an internationalism not even attained in the organisation of the Catholic Church is the motive for this unity in school systems, methods of instruction and arrangement of studies. But this centralised and intensified internationalism, which has developed into a gigantic embodiment of egotism, necessarily lays the foundation for a valueless system of instruction.

Where the lapse of centuries and fundamental differences of place and people no longer play a part, where intellectual nourishment is regulated and supplied with a view to the central point, with only secondary consideration for the dwellers within or at the circumference of the circle, there can be no question of healthy nourish-

* *Monum. Germ. paed.*, 5, 3.
† *Ibid.*, 5, 6.

ment, suited to the intellectual needs of those who are to receive it.

Self, self, self! This is the cry which the Jesuit system of instruction sends forth through time and space to the individual and the nation alike.

Austria, the El Dorado of the Jesuits, is an instructive case in point. There the Jesuit Franz Wagner, in the year 1735, published a pamphlet containing the official instructions of the Order for the arrangement of its schools in Austria, Hungary, and the neighbouring lands. He says:—

"In order to attain a simultaneous treatment of the subjects of instruction in the different colleges, the time-table must be fixed and permanent, and regulated by the clock as closely as in the higher educational establishments. . . . The arrangement of studies here set forth will prove very useful in promoting uniform methods of instruction. It contains in detail the exercises to be undertaken every day, their method and sequence. The masters, therefore, are not forced to think it out, as the course for the whole year is prescribed in tabular form."*

Of this arrangement of studies the "German" Jesuit, Francis Zorell, speaks somewhat critically:—

"The regulations are carried into such detail that all the Jesuit gymnasia of the Empire resembled a piece of clock-work, since they all on the same day and at the same hour taught the same thing in each separate class. . . . Whether it is really possible to carry out so mechanical a system of rules concerned with the smallest detail, and admitting of not the slightest disturbance, is a matter for others to judge of."†

Still, the mechanical, clock-work system of Wagner

* *Instructio privata seu typus cursus annui pro sex humanioribus classibus in usum magistrorum Societatis Jesu editus.* Introduction, pp. 4 *et seq.*

† *Bibliothek der kathol. Pädagogik*, vol. X., p. 326.

is officially sanctioned by the Order. It is impossible to get away from that. And this scheme reveals not only the uniformity but also the mechanical character of the Jesuit system of instruction, which renders all really effective results impossible.

I have already shown how many ordinances contained in the Constitutions exist only on paper and are disregarded because their observance would be disadvantageous for the Order on this or that account, though the lifeless formula remained and was lauded as fruitful capital. A similar egotistic disregard of regulations exists in the Scheme of Instruction, and particularly—which makes matters worse—in the regulations for the training of the young Jesuit teachers. Yet even these non-observed regulations receive their meed of praise.

"In order that the scholastics may be better fitted to undertake the teaching office it is very necessary (*per necessarium est*) that they should acquire practice in a private academy. . . . In order that the *magistri* of the lower classes may not enter on their work without experience, the Rector of the College, which usually supplies the teachers of the humanities and grammar, should choose someone with considerable experience in teaching. Towards the end of their studies the future teachers are to go to him for an hour three times a week to be prepared for their new office in prelection,* dictation, writing, correcting, and discharging the other duties of a good teacher." †

"All the scholastics are to have considerable practice in Latin composition, and there must always be someone who can correct them. . . . Every week one of the more advanced scholars delivers a Greek or Latin oration

* Prelection = *praelectio*, the "typical form of Jesuit instruction." I use the word coined by Thomas Hughes, who discusses this passage and the meaning of prelection in general in his book. *Loyola and the Educational System of the Jesuits*, in the "Great Educator" Series (Heinemann).—*Translator.*

† Rule 30 for the Provincial and Rule 9 for the Rector.

during dinner. Every week one of the scholastics is to hold a discourse tending to the edification of the hearers . . . with a view not only to stylistic but also moral improvement. All who understand Latin must be present."*

"The prefect of studies must give to all theologians and philosophers a book dealing with humanistic studies, and exhort them not to neglect to read it at certain suitable hours."†

These regulations deserve no special praise; from the pedagogic point of view they are a matter of course. Still, it is well that the obvious necessity of preparation for teaching and practising the classical languages should be emphasised in the Jesuit system. But there is a reverse to the medal. The rules are not observed.

I speak in the first instance chiefly of the German Province, of which I was a member for fourteen years. Here, in spite of the number of educational establishments, these regulations existed only on paper. The scholastics, who at the end of their philosophy course were sent to Feldkirch, Ordrupshoj, Brazil, North America, or India, as class teachers, received no previous instruction for their new office from an experienced teacher; they had no special practice in Latin and Greek, and they did not receive books dealing with humanistic studies; private academies, where they could have practice in prelection, dictation and correction, did not exist. The scholastics of twenty-two to twenty-four entered on their teaching work at the gymnasium not only without any proper professional study, but also without any practical training.

Straight from the school-room in a condition of physical and moral dependence, such as is only known within the Jesuit Order, they are transformed into professors,‡

* Const. IV., 6, 13 and 16 (3).

† Rule 30 for the Prefect of Studies.

‡ A staff teacher at a German or Austrian gymnasium is entitled to be designated "professor."—*Translator.*

contrary to the regulations of the *Ratio Studiorum* and the Constitutions.

Whence this disregard of the definite regulations as to the training of teachers ? The Order no longer finds them convenient, because they would disturb or lengthen the scholastic's studies. The interests of the Order, the weal of " our own members," demand that the welfare of the outsider be sacrificed. How often have I heard the pious reflection : " The grace of God will supply what is lacking ; what is done in holy obedience is sure of His blessing." Holy obedience to egotism ruthlessly thrusts aside holy obedience to the Rules and Constitutions. And they continue to praise Rule and Constitution, as though still in force, and brand as ignorant or calumniators all those who do not base their judgment of the system on the very regulations which the Jesuits themselves long ago cast aside.

A matter of great importance in estimating the Jesuit system of instruction is the place given in the scheme to Latin and to the mother tongue. There is no doubt that the *Ratio Studiorum*, like the Order as a whole, lays great stress on the study of Latin.

But it is equally certain that the reason is not so much the culture to be derived therefrom as the advantage to the Order itself, its internationalism and the development of its scholastics for its own special ends. Nowhere do we find a single allusion to the educational importance of Latin.

Now the eulogists of the Order say it is no matter if the Regulations contain no theoretical acknowledgment of the value of Latin, since its practical recognition in the Order and its schools suffices. And they try to prove their point by reference to the Rules. Thus Rule 8 for the Rector insists that the scholastics should use the Latin language in conversation and correspondence, and No. 18

of the general rules for teachers of the lower grades says: "It is of special importance that pupils should have practice in speaking Latin. The master should therefore, at any rate from the highest grammar class upward, talk Latin and require that the pupils shall do the same, especially in the explanation of rules, correction of Latin exercises, in concertations,* and conversation."†

Finally, Rule 9 for the "scholastics of our Society" says, quite simply: "All, but especially students of the humanities, must speak Latin."

To this I reply: I have no intention of denying the stress laid upon Latin in the *Ratio Studiorum*, if only because, as already shown, it is really a sort of transcript of the medieval systems based on the humanities, and consequently laying stress on Latin. But the importance given to it in the Jesuit system, being based on imitation, cannot be regarded as a merit. Where its own individual estimate and use of Latin finds expression, I am confirmed in my opinion that it is put in the foreground mainly in the interest of Jesuit internationalism and, to some extent, for reasons of practical theology. This is clearly expressed in the first edition of the draft of the *Ratio Studiorum* of the year 1586:—

"Our members require knowledge and practice in Latin chiefly on account of the intercourse with the different nationalities, and for the scholastic exercises of our theologians and philosophers, as well as for the composition of books and pamphlets and the right comprehension of the holy Fathers, who for the most part wrote in Latin, and

* Concertation, *concertatio*, the form given to disputation in the lower classes. *Translator.*

† In the *Ratio Studiorum*, in force till 1832, Rule 18 stated that "the use of Latin was to be strictly observed, except in those schools where the pupils understood no Latin," an addendum which throws a curious light on what its eulogists call the special consideration bestowed on the Scheme of Studies.

also on account of their frequent intercourse with learned men."*

This passage is the more remarkable that it occurs in the chapter entitled " Of Humanistic Studies," in the very place where mention should have been made of the intrinsic merits of the Latin language. Of these there is not a word. We find only reasons of external utility; above all, the international intercourse which can be furthered by the use of Latin.

Again the practical use to which Latin is put shows no signs of real appreciation. The grammars used in the schools were thoroughly inferior compositions. Yet this grammatical rubbish would still be the philological basis for Jesuit instruction in Latin had not external circumstances compelled the Order to abandon Emanuel's grammar and others of that type.

As for the Latin conversation among members of the Order, Jesuits have had the audacity to emphasise its importance, representing it as in the first rank of humanistic aids to education, and an excellent preparation for the young scholastic about to enter on his teaching labours. But who outside the Order can know what sort of Latin is spoken there? It is convenient and expedient, therefore, to boast of the educational and humanistic value of the Latin conversation in the Order. In reality the Latin spoken by the scholastics during their period of study is the worst type of dog-Latin, a language that meets no philological requirements and hinders rather than helps education.

In his treatise in defence of the Jesuit system Ebner frequently quotes the 8th Rule for the Rector, which requires the scholastics to compose Latin verses twice or thrice a year.† Those who, like myself, have spent seven

* *Monum. Germ. paed.*, 5, 144.

† Ebner, *Beleuchtung der Schrift des Herrn Johann Kelle, etc.*, pp. 200–202.

years as students in the Order know how such verses are fabricated; how they are often composed without any knowledge of prosody, in almost mechanical fashion, by the help of a "gradus ad Parnassum"; that this vaunted verse composition is a mere philological farce, not a serious classical exercise; and we cannot refrain from indignation when a man who also knows the truth thus falsifies the facts.

Another educational farce is the manner in which Duhr seriously designates the Latin conversation as useful preparation for teaching, and, speaking of the novitiate houses, says:—

"The novices are obliged to talk Latin all day, except during the afternoon recreation. Often schools for Latin, Greek and the mother tongue are established during the period of the novitiate."*

If there is any period in the life of a member of the Jesuit Order where literary preparation is not systematically pursued—or, rather, is systematically neglected, not to say suppressed—it is in the two years' novitiate. Everything done then is done with a view to self-surrender, subduing and mortifying the individual will. . . . To this rule the literary training is no exception, and therefore it only supplies a pretence of knowledge. It, too, is included in the practice (*exercitium*) and experiment (*experimentum*), which the novice must undergo in order to be fashioned into a useful tool for the Order.

As for the Latin conversation, I may say that novice's Latin is a few degrees more barbarous than scholastics' Latin. For in his scholastic days the young Jesuit at any rate learns Latin grammar and reads Latin classics in his lesson-time; while in his novice days he neither hears nor reads good Latin, but stands entirely on his own linguistic feet, which, as a rule, have carried him as

* Duhr, *Die Studienordnung der Gesellschaft Jesu*, p. 38.

far as the second class of a gymnasium. Nor is anyone charged with the duty of directing the Latin conversation and correcting mistakes; at best this is done by the "guardian angel," himself a novice, whose knowledge of Latin is at the same or on a lower level than that of the pupil whom he directs. Thus my guardian angel was a youth of seventeen, who had reached the lower second class at Feldkirch. It is obvious that my Latin could not be perfected by such a teacher.

A criticism pronounced by the General Paul Oliva on the wretched Latin of the whole Order is especially applicable to the novices; any word with the addition of a Latin suffix passes there for Latin, and such expressions as "*debemus nos percutere*"—supposed to mean "we must fight our way through" (the world)—are among the linguistic treasures of novitiate Latin.

In the second year of my novitiate I was director of the "School for the mother tongue" (*praefectus scholae*), as Duhr grandiloquently calls it, and therefore know exactly what happens in such schools. A quarter or half an hour before the beginning of the lesson, sheets of paper were distributed on which a composition was to be written. Some of these essays were read aloud and commented on by the master, and occasionally grammatical rules were expounded. A similar course was pursued in the Latin and Greek schools. The character of the studies there is sufficiently shown by the fact that the teachers are novices, who in regard to age and education often stand below their pupils.

I shall have occasion to show later that untruthfulness in general, and especially in matters relating to the Order, is one of its worst and most widely spread faults—or, rather, vices. Particularly in self-praise, in lauding its own merits at the expense of truth, the Society of Jesus is a past-master. The Latin conversation of the Jesuit

scholastics, as an educational instrument and a professional preparation for the teaching office, is an example.

My judgment on the quality of Jesuit Latin receives authoritative confirmation from a letter addressed by the General Paul Oliva, on the 11th of May, 1680, to the Provincial of the Bohemian Province, Father Wenzel Sattenwolf:—

"Every effort must be made to raise the standard of the humanistic studies, for I know not how it has come about that those who can preserve and strengthen the reputation, which the Society once enjoyed in this respect, are now so few among you. The fault lies with the teachers, not only of the external pupils, but also those who instruct our own members in the novitiate. For they seem to take for Latin anything which differs from their own tongue and can be twisted into a semblance of Latin. Words are adopted not only from philosophy and other difficult sciences in which custom has taught us to pardon the barbarity of expressions, but also, strangely enough, I could give instances even from modern Italian in letters written to myself, had I not too much else to do, or desired to show my fear that my words would not suffice for the statement."*

The judgment of the General was the more significant as numerous specimens of the Latinity of the Order reached him almost daily in Latin letters, petitions, books and treatises, sent by members of the Order.

How, indeed, could the Latinity have been good if the decay of Latin had been one of the abuses of the Order long before Oliva's day? In the very first draft of the *Ratio Studiorum* under General Claudius Acquaviva in 1586 we find:—

"It is a matter of universal complaint that humanistic

* Codex of the Vienna Court Library, No. 11,953, fol. 78*b*, from Kelle, *Die Jesuitengymnasien in Oesterreich*, pp. 161 and 299.

studies have for the most part fallen into decay among our members, so that nothing is more difficult than to find a good grammarian, rhetorician, or humanist. . . . The confessors, too, are in trouble and difficulty when they have to hear a confession in Latin, and they can scarcely understand the homilies of the Fathers and the lessons of the breviary."*

The eighteenth century also supplies a trustworthy testimony to the bad state of the Latin in the Jesuit Order. In the State Library at Munich there is a manuscript "Diary of an Indian Journey" (*Diarium itineris Indici*), by the German Jesuit Streicher, which contains confidential and very characteristic comments on the knowledge of Latin among his fellow members in Spain:—

"With the exception of the Father Rector (at Cadiz), there was scarcely a father who spoke Latin to us; only the Minister, who teaches rhetoric, and seems once to have got as far as the higher syntax, ventured to lisp a few Latin words. . . . Those who desire to become Jesuits learn enough to be able to pronounce this or that Latin word. . . . It therefore seems very probable that many of them do not understand the Mass, and certainly not the breviary. . . . Once, when in course of conversation mention was made of Plautus, one of our theologians inquired who this theologian might be."†

It is not surprising that Streicher himself cautions against the publication of his letter. That his statements are true is evident from the indisputable testimony of two prominent Jesuits, of whom one, long before Streicher, and the other contemporaneously, bitterly lamented the neglect of Latin by the Jesuit Order.

Mariana, the Jesuit who defended the doctrine of

* *Monum. Germ. paed.*, 5, 144, 148.

† From J. Friedrich, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Jesuitenordens*, Munich, 1881, p. 25.

tyrannicide, wrote a most interesting book, *De Regimine Societatis* [Jesu], in 1625, in which he discusses with much freedom the abuses in the system of the Order. Of the humanistic studies he says :—

" The Jesuits have undertaken the conduct of humanistic studies in important towns. But there are great difficulties in the way . . . for the Jesuits are much in want of good teachers, so that those who neither know nor wish to know anything spend two or three years reading the barbarisms of the ignorant. There is no doubt that at this day there is less knowledge of Latin in Spain than fifty years ago, and the main cause of this is that the Jesuits occupy themselves with these studies. Nor do I feel the least doubt that they will be expelled from the schools by public decree when this evil is recognised."*

Here is another piece of testimony supplied by the Jesuit, Nicasius Grammaticus, who was called to Madrid, in 1726, to teach at the *seminarium nobilium* founded by Philip V. He remarks, laconically, "Among our members, too, a barbarous Latin is prevalent."†

Though these damning criticisms are exclusively directed against the Latin of the Jesuits in Spain, we must always remember that the official *Ratio Studiorum* was in force in that country too. The disgraceful state of Latin there must accordingly be laid to its charge.

If at this early stage of the Order, not much more than a generation after its foundation, its Latin was in this condition, and if, during the whole succeeding period, till the suppression of the Order, complaints of bad Latin never ceased, we cannot avoid the question : When and where did Jesuit Latin really flourish ? That there were good Latinists among the Jesuits, too, I am not prepared

* Mariana, S. J., *De Regimine Societatis*, cp. 6, p. 60 *et seq.*

† J. Friedrich, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Jesuitenordens*, p. 26.

to deny. But, in the words of Virgil, "*Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto.*"

Without doubt, then, Alexander von Helfert, a competent judge and friend of the Order, is right in the reproach he brings against its educational system :—

"In the very current of a time full of movement and life, it devotes itself almost exclusively to a dead language, and teaches even this in a fashion far removed from any real comprehension of the subject matter."*

Closely connected with the status of Latin is that of the mother tongue in the Jesuit system. While Latin is specially favoured as a medium of international intercourse, the mother tongue is regarded as an obstacle to internationalism, and systematically neglected. Thus Rule 18 for the teachers in the lower classes says :—

"The use of the mother tongue in matters relating to the school must never be permitted, and those who disregard this rule must be reprimanded."

Rule 8 for the Rector instructs him to see to it that the scholastics carefully observe the rule of speaking Latin at home. The only exceptions allowed are holidays and the hours of recreation, except where the Provincial considers that in some places the practice of speaking Latin might be continued even at these times.

"The Congregation determines that Latin shall be maintained as the vehicle of instruction in the upper classes. But as in some of our provinces the custom has taken root, which can be altered without any great injury to our schools, of teaching physics and mathematics through the mother tongue, the Congregation declares its wish that even in these branches of instruction the custom of speaking Latin should again be introduced. It is left to the wisdom of the most venerable Father General

* *Die Gründung der oesterreichischen Volksschule durch Maria Theresia*, Prague, 1860, p. 281.

to decide what is to be done in each province in respect to this matter."*

On this characteristic decree a "proposal for alterations in the *Ratio Studiorum*," sent in by the German province in 1829, makes the equally characteristic comment:—

"The desire of the Congregation to retain the Latin language, even in the lessons in natural science and mathematics, is a general one, but in many places the use of the mother tongue has taken such root (*inveteratus*) that if the substitution of Latin were even to be suggested the schools would in a short time be deserted. Nothing definite and decisive ought therefore to be added to the scheme; everything had been provided for by the 19th decree of the last Congregation."†

This is the attitude of the *Ratio Studiorum* towards the mother tongue. It is not affected by the allusions in it to the vernacular, nor by the modifications contained in the new edition of 1832. For this once more insists on Latin conversation, and recommends, in Rule 18 already quoted, "purity and correct pronunciation of the mother tongue" merely in the translation of authors.

Not till the first third of the nineteenth century does the mother tongue appear in the scheme of study as an independent subject. It is mentioned about twenty times, but only in relation to translation. One passage contains this addition:—

"Nor need the teacher of Humanity regard it as unsuitable now and then to express something in the vernacular, if such translation contributes greatly to its comprehension, or is specially distinctive."‡

For ceremonial occasions—such as school performances

* Decree 19 of the 22nd General Congregation of the year 1829. *Monum. Germ. paed.*, 2, 111.

† *Monum. Germ. paed.*, 16, 397.

‡ Rule 5 for the Teacher of Humanity.

—only Latin or Greek poems, recitations, and speeches are recognised. Theatrical performances by pupils must be given in Latin; this is impressed by the Constitutions on the Provincial (Rule 58), and by the *Ratio Studiorum* on the Rector (Rule 13).* Prizes may only be given for achievements in Latin and Greek and a knowledge of the Catechism. The scheme recognises no national classics, only those of Rome and Greece.

Not till the year 1832 was there any departure from the shameful and systematic disregard of the mother tongue. And this, like all other improvements in the Jesuit scheme of study, was the result of pressure from without. They could not help themselves. Unless the Jesuit Order was willing to forfeit its position in the educational world, it was compelled to show some consideration for the cult of national tongues, which for generations had been mightily growing and thriving. That is why the new edition of 1832 at last, after two hundred and fifty years, consents to allot a definite place in its curriculum to the mother tongue, even to offer a prize for distinction in it, alongside of twenty-two prizes for Latin, Greek, and the Catechism. Reference is also made in three places to the "classics in the mother tongue."

But even in the new edition it remains a Cinderella; ceremonial addresses, poems, and the like, are only recognised in Greek or Latin. Honours and titles for specially good pupils (a speciality of Jesuit schools) are still to be taken from Greek or Roman civil or military terms.†

* At the present day the stringent injunctions as to the exclusive performance of Latin plays are practically disregarded. Indeed, Rule 13 for the Rector, which treats of this, is omitted from the *Ratio* of 1832. During my nine years at Feldkirch I did not witness a single Latin performance, but only German plays with slight literary merit, but abounding in piety. Here, again, we encounter the Jesuit peculiarity of quoting, as though still in use, rules which are completely disregarded whenever it seems more convenient to do so, merely in order to prove the excellence of the Jesuit system (*Omnia in majorem Societatis Jesu gloriae*).

† Rule 35 for the Teachers of Lower Grades.

The time-table for the Humanity class still allows no place for the mother tongue, and we still find in the time-table for the highest, middle, and lowest grammar classes, "the last half-hour in the afternoon is to be devoted to competitions, or the mother tongue, or less important subjects."

Now, I am well aware that an inordinate preference for Latin and neglect of the mother tongue was a peculiarity of humanism, which passed thence into the schools. But does this excuse the Jesuit scheme of study? Far otherwise. It only proves that here, too, the Order, with no comprehension of the progressive needs of the age, slavishly imitated the system of instruction prevalent in the schools at the time of its foundation in the sixteenth century; that it remained in this antiquated and ossified condition for centuries; that it subordinated, and still subordinates, the national development of the pupils committed to its care to its own international interests; that the slight amount of honour recently shown to the mother tongue in its educational establishments is due to compulsory adaptation, not to free and fundamental development.

Camoens, Calderon, Cervantes, Lope de Vega, Shakespeare, Milton, Corneille, Racine, Tasso, Ariosto, Lessing, Klopstock, Goethe, Schiller, and the mighty movements of national language and literature linked with these and other great names in the various lands where the Jesuits laboured in the schools, are practically non-existent for their scheme of study. Not the smallest spark of sacred enthusiasm for the national language kindled the arid and inflexible scaffolding, fashioned according to international schemes, and reeking with the mould of centuries, which the Jesuit Order calls its *Ratio Studiorum*.

But how is the mother tongue actually utilised in the Jesuit schools, and how does the Order treat the national classics and their educational value?

To this question I would, in the first place, reply: These young Jesuit scholastics, after entering the Order, have only received a mechanical, superficial drill in Latin and Greek, and before their entrance as pupils of the third, second, or even first class of the gymnasium, or at the episcopal boarding schools, have acquired but a meagre acquaintance with the literature of their own country, which they have had no opportunity of enlarging. It is impossible, therefore, that these young men, who are in every sense still learners and not teachers, should suddenly be equipped for imparting to the pupils handed over to them at a moment's notice the rich treasures of their own tongue.

Again, German classical literature is held in but slight esteem by the Jesuits; German classics are seldom put into the hands of the scholastics, or at any rate only in expurgated "Catholic" editions. How can a young Jesuit teacher inspire his pupils with enthusiasm for Goethe or Schiller when he himself has been trained to regard them with disapprobation, apart from the fact that he lacks any real knowledge of his own literature?

During the year which I spent in the rhetoric class as a Jesuit scholastic, the "classics" expounded to us were Eichendorf, Brentano, and Oscar von Redwitz, which we read in selection, on no account in a complete version. We also used the two books of anthologies selected by Heinrich Bone, the late director of the Mayence Gymnasium, "*Dichterperlen*" (Poetic Pearls), and "*Das grosse Lesebuch*" (the great reading-book). A survey of German literature of the scantiest and most partisan character was administered to us. And everywhere warning posts were erected bidding us beware of the "poison of enlightenment" and the "licentiousness" of the German classics.

I had already completed my legal studies before joining the Order, and had read the German classics with

much enjoyment (a fortunate circumstance, since the "poison" remained in my system), and I greatly missed the contact with my own literature during my period of study. Again and again did I bewail this lack to Father Helten, Prefect of Studies at the College at Wynandsrade, where I took my rhetoric course. Of course I met with no sympathy, and on one occasion, when I was speaking enthusiastically of Goethe and quoting his fine saying: "*Alle menschliche Gebrechen sühnet reine Menschlichkeit,*"* dwelt on the marvellous fashion in which Goethe expresses the human element in both good and evil, he reproached me severely, and warned me against the "heathen Goethe, whose naturalistic epicureanism thrust religion on one side."

In fact, Helten, who also lectured to us on German and æsthetics, shared the Jesuit estimate of Goethe as a licentious man of the world, and protested against the ordinance of a Prussian Minister of Education, to study his works in all the schools.

This contempt for national literature is quite in accordance with the *Ratio Studiorum.* The 34th Rule for the Provincial says: "Even greater caution must be observed in regard to national writers where they have to be read in school. They must be very carefully selected, and no author should be read or praised, whose works the pupils cannot admire without risk to their morals and faith."

The comprehensive wording of this ordinance really renders it a declaration of outlawry against the German classics, since from the Jesuit standpoint they are all, without exception, dangerous to morals and faith. It was perhaps not a mere accident that this ordinance was added to the *Ratio* in 1832, the year of Goethe's death, and the significance of its fundamental bias is thereby enhanced.

After all, why should Jesuits require classics? Their

* From a poem written in the album of the actor Krüger in 1827.

own authors can do everything far better. This is the point of view emphasised by Ebner, the official apologist of the *Ratio Studiorum*, who proceeds to expound the superiority to Lessing of a Jesuit writer, Possevin. Klopstock and Wieland are treated in similar fashion, and are to be replaced by writers whose fame has never penetrated beyond the bounds of the Order.*

In regard to the systematic neglect of German and its literature by the Order, we can cite a witness for the Crown who, with admirable frankness, gives the true reason for this neglect. For Cornova writes :—

"The second fault was the complete and evidently intentional neglect of German literature. For there were two difficulties in its way, the *ignoti nulla cupido* (for who knew anything of German literature in those times, when the Jesuits who took the lead at the period of the revival of taste were brought up ?) and the religious prejudice, since this field was then only worked by Protestants. '*Si auctor libri est hereticus, jam liber eo ipso nihil valet*,' I heard these words uttered by an approved Jesuit teacher of the higher studies, though, on the other hand, he almost canonised the heathen writer Aristotle."†

And a historian like Helfert, another warm friend of the Order, subscribes to Cornova's criticism, adding that it is perfectly just.‡ The evidence for the neglect of the

* The author here quotes a passage from Johannes Oppelt, "a poet of the Society of Jesus," whose work was published in 1749, a time when Klopstock was engaged on his "Messias," as a sample of the Jesuit substitute for Lessing, Klopstock and Wieland. Here are the first lines :—

"Kann der Gesang nicht Nutz und Hülffe bringen,
So heisst es nur koachsen und nicht singen.
Gelbgrüne Sauffer-Zech, in den beschilften Backen,
Wann euch zu raten ist, so höret auf zu quacken."

Ebner's criticism on this poem is the Horatian "*omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci.*"

† Cornova, *Die Jesuiten als Gymnasiallehrer*, Prague, 1804, p. 70.

‡ *Gründung der oesterreichischen Volksschule durch Maria Theresia*, Prague, 1860, p. 278.

mother tongue is, indeed, so strong that even Duhr lets slip the admission :—

" Henceforth this principle remained in force : Practice in the mother tongue is desirable, but it should not be treated as a separate subject."*

Duhr evidently approves the sentiments of his brother member, Father Maximilian Dufrene, who wrote in 1765, when the classical period of German literature had already been inaugurated by Lessing and Klopstock :—

" To treat the German language as one of the chief subjects in these schools would undoubtedly be their ruin, as we could easily prove."†

And though I do not in all respects agree with Raumer's criticism of Jesuit instruction, I approve of his general conclusion, that " with a view to the advance of Latinity the Jesuits suppressed the mother tongue."‡

Indeed, he might have added that the furtherance of Latin served to further Jesuit internationalism and egotism, and that this was its real aim.

Nor is it only the official scheme of study which passes over the mother tongue in favour of the international Latin of the Church and the study, for the educational writers of the Order do the same. To prove this point I may refer to three of the most distinguished, Francis Sacchini (1570–1625), Joseph de Jouvency (Juvencius, 1643–1719), and Francis Xavier Kropf (1694–1746).

Their writings on education are regarded in the Order as standard works, and the German Jesuits Stier, Schwickerath, and Zorell republished them as Vol. X. of the *Bibliothek der katholischen Pädagogik* in 1898. What do we find in this tome of nearly five hundred pages, which contains the deposit of Jesuit views on education from

* *Die Studienordnung der Gesellschaft Jesu*, pp. 107, 108.

† A. Kluckhohn, *Die Jesuiten in Bayern*. Sybel's *Histor. Zeitschrift*, 1874, vol. 31, p. 411 [(1)].

‡ K. U. Raumer, *Geschichte der Pädagogik*, I., 335.

three centuries and three countries, Italy, France, and Germany ? The most detailed directions as to learning and speaking Latin, and hardly a word about the mother tongue.

Above all, the treatise by Kropf, *Gymnasial-Pädagogik*, which, in the words of its latest editor, Zorell, bears an official character, is very instructive in this respect. This German scholar Kropf is so much of a Latinist that in his eyes language and Latin are interchangeable terms. He would even like, violently and systematically, to replace German by Latin in ordinary intercourse outside the school. In the section on the methods of perfecting Latin conversation and correspondence, he writes :—

" The teacher should dictate Latin expressions such as are used for greeting, congratulation, requests, excuses, apologies, thanks and the like, with the various titles by which dignitaries should be addressed, and encourage the pupils to pronounce them respectfully, and accustom themselves to their use in after-life. . . . Whenever possible, opportunity should be sought and utilised to address other boys in Latin [apparently not only his pupils], whether individually or in groups, either during a walk or a vacation. They should be asked various questions, especially to name the Latin for particular objects."*

But Kropf even goes further, and suggests another method for perfecting Latin.

" Those who distinguish themselves in the use of Latin should be praised and occasionally rewarded, while those who show themselves negligent should be reproved. A boy who says anything in the mother tongue should be made to wear some mark of disgrace, and pay some slight forfeit unless he succeeds, either in the morning or afternoon of the same day, in passing on this badge to some other boy whom he detects in the same fault at school

* *Bibliothek der katholischen Pädagogik* (Freiburg i. Br.), Vol. X., p. 427.

or in the street, so long as he has at least one witness to help convict him."*

Here we observe not only that the mother tongue is pilloried, but also the educational position. The Jesuit scholar rids himself of the disgrace of speaking German by denunciation of a comrade.

Only the French Jesuit Jouvancy retains sufficient national feeling to devote to his own tongue a special though short paragraph, in which he recommends the master to speak to his pupils of "the beauties of their own tongue and the sins committed against it." But, as though afraid of having said too much, he adds this warning:—

"We must take this opportunity of calling attention to a snare which is especially dangerous to young teachers [apparently it is not the pupils who are in question], that of reading too much from works in their own language, especially poetry. This not only wastes much time, but may also lead to spiritual destruction. Therefore, everyone should inform the Director of Studies, or the Rector of the College, what he means to read and for how long; and let him remember this: If from preference for the mother tongue or weariness of difficult labour he uses the time set aside for the more difficult and important languages otherwise than is well and wisely appointed by the rules, he is guilty of a grievous fault."†

Speaking of Germany we may mention this in addition to the facts already adduced.

An Austrian Court decree of the 25th of July, 1725, lays it down that at the Jesuit schools "in future no young masters, but . . . Father Professors sufficiently grounded in pure German orthography are to be appointed." Apparently the young masters of the Jesuit Order were not

* *Bibliothek der katholischen Pädagogik* (Freiburg i. Br.), Vol. IX., p. 420.
† *Ibid.*, p. 229.

sufficiently grounded in German orthography. It was only the intervention of the Empress Maria Theresa in 1752 that obtained for German a place in the time-table of the Jesuit schools in Austria. But even in 1770 the Minister, Count Pergen, who himself had been educated at Jesuit schools, complained in a memorial addressed to Maria Theresa on the 26th of August:—

"That the pupils of the Jesuit schools at the end of their laborious career cannot write a good letter or other composition, or compose a suitable speech in their own tongue, or express themselves appropriately without committing grave errors."*

Kelle states that the library of the great Jesuit College at Prague, one of the most renowned of the Order, in the year 1772 did not contain a single work of German literature.

The time-table of the Jesuit gymnasium of the Upper German Province at Bamberg for 1742–43 does not once mention German, and the same applies to the curriculum of the Upper German Province for 1736.†

Yet this was a period when the German language had already entered on the stage of its finest development, and the greatest German classical writers had already helped to mould its beauty. All this leaves no trace on the Jesuit Order. Its Latin internationalism remains untouched by the German revival of the national language.

And this explains the literary phenomenon that the Order, during an existence of nearly four hundred years, has neither in Germany nor in other countries produced any writers or works qualified to hold an honourable place in national literature. The Order itself fills folios and volumes with the names of writers, and extols the matter and form of their works.‡ But non-Jesuit criticism is

* Helfert, p. 203.

† *Monum. Germ. paed.*, 16, 30–39.

‡ *Cf.* Sommervogel, S.J. (*Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus.* Bibliographie Bruxelles—Paris, 1896), and R. Ebner, S.J., pp. 250 and 301.

discourteous enough, so far as their achievements in the mother tongue are concerned, to class the majority of Jesuit authors among those of whom twenty-four go to a dozen.

I have spoken in such detail of the Jesuit contempt for the mother tongue because it is one of the most essential characteristics of the non-patriotic disposition which prevails throughout the Order. I shall have occasion later to treat of its attitude towards *belles-lettres* in general, since it is of importance in estimating the degree of its culture.

There is another peculiarity of the educational system which is always mentioned by its apologists as one of its special glories. Though it is a question of externals, it is of importance for the general estimate of the Order.

One of the chapters in Duhr's pamphlet on the Jesuit Scheme of Studies is headed, "Of the Gratuitous Nature of the Teaching." He says:—

"Knowledge and the imparting thereof were not to be a source of income to the members of the Society of Jesus. One of the fundamental rules of the Order runs, 'All who are under the rule of the Society must bear in mind that they are to give gratuitously that which they have received gratuitously; accordingly, they must neither demand nor accept a fee or an alms, whereby . . . any labour, which according to the rule of the Society we are allowed to perform, may be compensated, in order that in this way we may go forward with the greater freedom and edification for the faithful in the service of God.' This fundamental rule was observed in teaching. Its gratuitous character gave greater sanctity to the teaching office; classes were conducted, not for profit, but out of love for God and our neighbour."*

In all this there is not a word of truth, and Duhr

* Duhr, p. 46.

knew quite well that his statements were false. Gratuitous instruction is unknown in the Jesuit Order. It takes heavy fees for teaching, either from the State, when it is in charge of official institutions, or from the parents of the children entrusted to its care. The fees charged at Jesuit boarding schools are very high. I can no longer be sure of the Feldkirch fees, but they certainly were not low. At Stonyhurst they amounted, if I am not mistaken, to £120, besides a number of extras. Kelle states* that the Jesuits who taught at Feldkirch received annually from the Austrian Government at first £840, then £945, after that £1,058 8s., then again £945.

I do not blame the Jesuit Order for taking money for its services, but, in view of such annual grants, to speak of gratuitous labour, and to boast in consequence of the disinterestedness of the Order, which holds classes not for money but out of love for God and our neighbour, is a strong but not uncommon piece of Jesuit deception. True, the rule already quoted prescribes gratuitous instruction. But, as I have already shown, and shall have occasion to show again, it is a peculiarity of the Order—and no doubt a calculated one—to have fine sounding rules which not only are not observed, but which are the exact opposite of their practice. To these belongs the fundamental rule cited by Duhr (Rule 27 of the *Summarium Constitutionum*) on the "gratuitous character of the labours, which according to the Institutions of the Society we are allowed to perform." If it ever was in force—which I greatly doubt—it has long ago fallen into disuse, and to such an extent that it might be said that the Jesuit Order understands to perfection how to make money out of its intellectual labours; no one engaged in earning his own living can surpass it in skill and in greed.

* Kelle, *Die Jesuitengymnasien in Oesterreich.* Prague, 1873, p. 242.

Therefore, Duhr's chapter on the "gratuitous character of the instruction" is a daring misrepresentation of facts, an attempt to deceive the unsuspecting Catholic public, which venerates and honours the Order even more for its supposed disinterestedness. The chapter, therefore, does represent a fundamental rule of the Order, but an unwritten one—the end sanctifies the means.

To these theoretical expositions of the Jesuit system of instruction I may add experiences of my own, taken from my boyish days at Feldkirch and afterwards from my time as scholastic in the college at Wynandsrade.

At Feldkirch I went through all the classes from the Sixth to the Upper Second, and this at a time (1861–69) when the Feldkirch gymnasium was entirely under Jesuit direction, and the Order conducted the teaching quite independently of the State.

Although a very good pupil, I was but a moderate scholar. Though I never missed my promotion, it was only with pain and grief that I was dragged from class to class. My ill success was not due to idleness or lack of ability. It was the system which failed to draw out of me, as out of many other industrious and gifted pupils, the talent latent within me; it was the system that failed to arouse love and zeal for study. And undoubtedly this was due to that part of it which I have already emphasised, which from lack of vitality could itself give forth no life, the inadequacy of the teachers' own knowledge.

The drill in philology, a term far too complimentary, with which the young Jesuits came forth meagrely equipped from the *scholasticum* to be let loose on us Feldkirch pupils, with almost annual changes, could not produce relations between teacher and pupils calculated to arouse living knowledge. Such teachers can bear no educational fruits.

It happened that among my masters were several prominent members of the Order; the present General Francis Xavier Wernz was my class teacher in the important Third and Fourth Classes; among the teachers of special subjects were some of the celebrities of the Order in physics, natural science, and mathematics—Fathers Frink, Kolberg, Bötzkes; and I received my first grounding in Latin from a future Rector, Father Knappmeier. But *ex nihilo nihil fit;* and a minus in the teacher's special knowledge cannot produce a plus on the side of the pupil. I have previously spoken of the ignorance of my old form master. Seven years later, when I left Feldkirch to pass through the two divisions of the First Class at the Mayence gymnasium, I had the greatest difficulty in passing the entrance examination. Of course my knowledge attained a higher level at this State institution, but the systematic faults which had taken root during my seven years at Feldkirch hindered me even here from making vigorous progress, and acquiring a real love of study.

My experience was that of most boys who went from Feldkirch to a gymnasium. With pain and grief, if at all, they succeeded in entering the class which, according to Feldkirch standard, was the one for which they were suited. My elder brother Wilhelm, now member of the Upper House, and my younger brother Klemens, had experienced the greatest difficulty in keeping up with their class at Paderborn and Vechta, where they attended the gymnasia on leaving Feldkirch. And if ever the transition was effected without friction, we never heard the last of the Jesuit teaching methods " which triumphed even over hostile systems of State education." For a favourite device was to put down the failures of Feldkirch pupils on entering other establishments to the hostility towards the Jesuits entertained by them and the State in general.

Jesuit instruction was, and remained, perfect. This was repeated by our teachers so often and so emphatically that we grew firmly convinced of it, and thought and spoke with contempt of all other institutions. But in reality Feldkirch was on the footing of all those establishments which achieve few results and have acquired the reputation of *refugia peccatorum.* While gymnasia which are abreast of their work can count among the long lists of their old pupils men who have won distinction in science, pioneers, and explorers in every domain of knowledge, the list of the pupils that have gone forth from the Jesuit gymnasium at Feldkirch in the course of fifty years can show only mediocrities, not one man of eminence. The condemnation is the greater because Feldkirch has for fifty years received an *élite* of pupils. The fault is not in them, but in the teachers and their system.

Since then the standard of teaching at Feldkirch has been raised. But this is due not to the Jesuit system of instruction, but to the compulsion exercised by the State. They offered the Order these alternatives: either the teaching scholastics must receive a professional training and pass the State examinations, or the licence to teach would be withdrawn. Of course, in its own interest the Order chose the former, and this led to the raising of the standard at Feldkirch.

Eleven years after I left the Feldkirch gymnasium I again returned to the scholar's bench. After the completion of my two years' novitiate the Jesuits sent me to their college at Wynandsrade (near Limburg, in Holland) to pass through their own course in Humanity. I may therefore supplement my account of the Jesuit teaching at the Feldkirch gymnasium with some notes on the philological studies of the Order at Wynandsrade.

On account of my age (I was at that time twenty-eight) and my studies before entering the Order (I had

matriculated, passed my State examination in law and practised for two years), I was exempted from the Grammar and Humanity courses and admitted at once to the highest, or Rhetoric, course. But as the scholastics of Grammar and Humanity were not separated from the Rhetoric students, my experiences and observations apply also to the other two courses.

Most of my fellow scholastics were very young men, not much more than children, of whom, besides myself, two perhaps had matriculated; the rest, about thirty in all, had at most reached the Upper Second before entering on their novitiate. They were now at Wynandsrade to receive the Jesuit training in the humanities as well as the preparation for their work in teaching at the Jesuit schools. But the teaching given was below the standard of the first class of a gymnasium.

Our professors were: for Grammar, Father Diel; for Humanity, Father Busch; for Rhetoric, Father Drecker; the Prefect of Studies and Professor of Greek, German, and Æsthetics was Father Helten; the History Professor, Father Brischar. Of these not one had received any professional training. But, half or wholly untrained as they were, they acted as "professors" to their young brothers in the Order.

In the Rhetoric class we did Latin and Greek exercises, construed Virgil, Homer, and Sophocles, and learnt Latin and Greek grammar from the text-books of Zumpt, Schulz, Buttmann, and Curtius. In short, our linguistic studies were such as are pursued by boys in the second and first classes of a gymnasium. But the humanistic instruction given by the Order to its own scholastics hardly reached the gymnasium standard, let alone exceeded it. There was scarcely a scholastic equipped with the linguistic training of Wynandsrade who could have passed the matriculation examination at any State institution.

Yet the Rhetoric course was the highest rung of the linguistic ladder, and these young scholastics went straight from its class-rooms to the teacher's desk at Feldkirch, or one of the other Jesuit schools, though the majority before entering the Order had not passed beyond the second class, some not even beyond the third, as not a few who came from Switzerland, Denmark, North America, or Holland, had entered from schools where a minimum of humanistic teaching was given and Greek absolutely wanting.

The Latin lessons given by our Rhetoric professor, Father Drecker, were anything rather than humanistic. We laughed a great deal, but learnt very little. How, indeed, could this jolly Westphalian, who was readier with coarse jokes than with rules of grammar, and who had spent most of his life in the Order as a popular missionary and confessor, have known how to teach Latin ? It was Saul among the prophets !

The regular language teachers were Fathers Helten and Busch, and I cannot deny that they had a quite respectable knowledge of grammar. But even they were self-taught, without any professional training, though, if I am not mistaken, both had attended philological lectures at Bonn, but not passed the final examination. The state of their general knowledge has been already indicated by the attitude of the Jesuit system towards national literature.

A curious specimen of a professor was the excellent Father Brischar, who taught us history. He deserves this epithet, because of his kindly, inoffensive disposition and his sincere piety. But as professor of history he was beneath criticism. His conceptions of history were positively grotesque. On his historical stage all the characters were angels or devils, with Providence to play the parts of stage manager and prompter. A good Catholic was

counted among the angels, though he might be an Alexander VI., Philip II. of Spain, Alba, Henry IV. of France, Queen Mary I. of England; those who were not good Catholics were classed with the ranks of Satan. Pragmatic connections, human developments, psychological explanations were unknown; everything in history is guided and directed by God with a sole regard for the Church and Papacy. In German history Father Brischar recognised only the Habsburg Emperors, and the most bigoted of these received the most detailed treatment. Although most of us were Prussians, we never heard any mention of Prussian history, except the circumstance that some of the writings of the "infidel" Frederick II., who, of course, lacked his designation "Great," had been placed on the Index of forbidden books.

As a student at Bonn I had attended the lectures of Heinrich von Sybel, and at Göttingen those of Georg Waitz and Otto Mejer, so my appreciation of Brischar's lectures may be imagined. But at that time my religious volition, my inherited and acquired ultramontane prejudices were still so strong that the inevitable comparisons fell out to the detriment of the German historians.

It was impossible for such studies to widen the intellectual horizon of the scholastics, for their sign-manual was systematic narrowness. The discipline and piety of the Order were the motive power and goal even of the humanities and rhetoric. At the same time, the linguistic achievements of the Order, the learning of its members —especially of the professors for the time being—were exalted to such a degree that the young scholastics, of whom the majority had entered the novitiate from Jesuit schools, and who knew nothing of any philological achievements outside the Order, were firmly convinced that there was no science or philology beyond its ranks.

Try as I might to become a genuine Jesuit and look

at the world and everything in it with Jesuit eyes, I could not entirely wipe out all I had seen and experienced before entering the Order, and it was much against the grain that I listened to the depreciation of everything non-Jesuit, even in the domain of knowledge. The foolish talk of my young and ignorant fellow-scholastics, utterly removed as it was from actuality, was to me a severe trial of patience, to which I sometimes succumbed. When a worthy Saxon, Brother Kade, who, being quite uninfluenced by any knowledge of the subject, maintained as an indisputable fact the monopoly of the Jesuits in the domain of knowledge, and especially—amazing as it sounds—in philology, I could no longer restrain myself, but exclaimed, "You are an ignoramus; all great achievements in philology are the work of non-Jesuits." The credulous, ignorant youth, who must have been about eighteen, looked at me horrified; such views were almost heretical. The result was a denunciation to the Rector and Prefect of Studies, and a reprimand from both. I bore this brother no grudge; on the contrary, at that time endurance of blame and humiliation were welcome stones in the Jesuit tower of perfection (*turris perfectionis*).

The Greek exercises given us by Father Helten were German translations from some Greek author to be rendered back into Greek. That the extracts dictated to us were from Greek classics was at first unknown to us, still less from which authors. One day, when looking up some word in Passow's larger lexicon, one of us accidentally discovered that the author of the extract was, I believe, Thucydides. This gave us a hint for tracking the others too. Some specially prominent word was looked up in Passow, which usually directed us to the particular author, and the discovery of the whole passage, which we copied, but with slight variations and errors, lest the lack of mistakes and too great purity of style should lead Father

Helten to suspect its origin. And, indeed, he never noticed anything, but praised our excellent versions. On the days when we had to do Greek composition Passow was passed from hand to hand, and what one failed to find was discovered by another.

Tout comme chez nous, I seem to hear from many a boy in the second or first class at school. Of course, and this school-boy trick within the strict enclosure of the Order's discipline has its attractive side.

Very different, however, is the attitude of the master of the gymnasium from that of the Jesuit Prefect of Studies, who in the highest class of linguistic preparation for the teaching profession gives out work in such fashion, and himself never notices that the versions are simply transcribed. Such mechanical procedure—for it can scarcely have been indolence—such lack of imagination and foresight on the part of the teacher, could scarcely continue for long at a gymnasium.

A word about the "æsthetics" on which Father Helten lectured. It was dry, narrow theory, based on the dry and narrow text-book of æsthetics of a Jesuit writer, Jungmann. There were interminable disquisitions on the Platonic and Aristotelian ideas of beauty; no attempt to reveal real beauty in flesh and blood.

Indeed art, which might be called embodied æsthetics, never came near me during the whole of my Jesuit life in the houses of the Order. Those who have made no previous acquaintance with painting and sculpture will learn nothing of either while in the Order or through its means. Representations of nude beauty, whether by Correggio, Titian, Michael Angelo, or da Vinci, are inducements to sensuality. Their strong and ennobling beauty was kept from us on principle. The æsthetic objects set before us were sentimental and monotonous Madonnas and saints by Deger and his school, and inferior but

pious productions of good Catholic lithographic and xylographic establishments. I shall have occasion later to show the absurd lengths to which the fear of beauty carries the Order, although in its studies of moral theology it acquaints its young scholars with the most repugnant sexual details. My only object here is to show how the Order teaches æsthetics not only without emphasising beauty, but even denying it. Not one of us received the least help from the year's course in æsthetics in purifying and improving his taste and sense of beauty.

Great stress is laid by the *Ratio Studiorum* on academies —associations of scholastics under a prefect elected by themselves—the purpose of which, according to the words of the regulation, is "the advancement of the various branches of study, Rhetoric, Humanities, Grammar, and afterwards Philosophy and Theology, by means of exercises such as speeches, poems, and the defence of theses." My own experience of academic achievements was of the poorest quality. Everything was subordinated to polish and outward form; there was not the slightest attempt at thoroughness in knowledge, or independent research on any subject connected with the school curriculum. Everything was planned out beforehand; the particular professor pulled the wires, there was no question of freedom for the scholars.

Among the achievements of the academies were dramatic representations or, rather, the performance of selected scenes from plays. Not, of course, classical plays, whether in German or any other language. Schiller, Goethe, Lessing, Shakespeare and Calderon found no place here. If my memory serves, Cardinal Nicholas Wiseman furnished the material of the dramatic performances during my whole Rhetoric year by scenes from his religious drama, *The Hidden Gem.*

The whole scheme of humanistic studies in the Order,

to judge from my own experience in the German Province, which intellectually, at any rate, is regarded as one of the most progressive, cannot stand comparison with the work of the State gymnasia in the middle and upper classes. Yet these humanistic studies were the only professional preparation with which the Jesuits equipped their scholastics for their whole work at the gymnasia.

Here, then, is my comprehensive judgment on the Jesuit system of instruction. The good in it is not original, but taken from other systems; for centuries it has kept stationary and aloof from all progress and development; only under compulsion will it accept reforms; much that is excellent exists only on paper; its successes are the successes of the whole world, such as are attained by every educational establishment, and a closer inspection reveals corresponding abuses, due to its mistaken curriculum and the inadequate intellectual preparation of the members who are utilised for the work of teaching. The Latin on which so much stress is laid does not come up to classical requirements; the mother tongue and the treasures of national literature are shamefully neglected. The whole is organised with a view to display and outward show.

CHAPTER V

THE JESUIT SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

IMPORTANT as is instruction, education is of still greater value. Only those who are educated in the full sense of the word can control the intellectual faculties developed by instruction, and the self-control thus obtained fashions our true individuality and forms our character.

How far are these results attained by Jesuit education ? Here, as before, an unsatisfactory answer must be given.

The educational system of the Jesuits is mechanical and superficial, concerned with externals rather than what lies beneath ; it polishes the surface, but penetrates no further. Even its main object, the suffusion of a man's inner being with religion, is not attained. The religion which it does foster is in part weak sentimentalism, in part a mass of formulæ, in part superstition. But its worst effect is spiritual bondage in the widest sense of the word.

The Jesuit pupil never learns to stand on his own feet, but leans on the crutches of external authority—Church, confessor, spiritual director. His freedom and independence of thought are enslaved. And everywhere internationalism, though not always shown openly, is present, because it springs from the innermost nature of the Order, and keeps down patriotism, that mighty instrument of education.

To realise the worthlessness of the Jesuit educational system as a whole, we must bring before our eyes the universal and lasting failure which its labours of four

hundred years have everywhere encountered. Although the Order undertook the education of practically the whole Catholic youth—particularly the higher and more influential classes—in Austria, Germany, France, Belgium, Spain, Italy and Portugal, it was nowhere able to delay by a single day, still less permanently check, the anti-clerical or revolutionary political movements in those countries.

Even the attack, to which the Order itself temporarily succumbed towards the end of the eighteenth century, was actually strongest in those countries where it had for generations had the almost exclusive direction of education —*i.e.* Italy, France, Spain, Portugal and Austria. The young generation brought up by the Jesuits could do nothing to stem the tide ; for the most part, indeed, they never attempted resistance ; and many former Jesuit pupils—who were not, as the Order asserted, Judases, but men awakened to the realities of life and facts—were among the leaders of those who emphasised the harm done by the Order, particularly in the domain of education, and demanded its exclusion from this occupation.

Where, indeed, was the dyke built by the Jesuit Order when in France—to quote the most striking instance of failure—the flood of encyclopædic enlightenment overspread the land, to be followed by the storm of revolution ? In spite of the numerous Jesuit schools which during three centuries had sent forth thousands of pupils, the transformation so disastrous to Church and the Order, so full of blessing for the world, was accomplished.

The gravity of such facts is scarcely regarded, and yet it is crushing. Moreover, the influence of Jesuit education in these countries was not confined within the walls of their colleges. For these and the other very numerous settlements of the Order were centres and foci of large spheres of activity extending throughout the land. By means of

the pupils committed to their care, the Order not only made its way into their families, and there gained power and influence, but its crowded churches, encircled with pulpits and confessionals, propagated this influence and power among millions of all grades of the population.* But this influence could not withstand the counter-currents; it was an illusion of power. The magnificent Jesuit institutions, with their blocks of sandstone and marble, were as houses of cards, which the wind overthrew, dispersing their educational harvest like chaff.

Judged from this universal standpoint, the result of the Feldkirch education, too, was valueless. For more than half a century thousands of boys and youths of all classes have passed through the magnificent Stella Matutinal with its splendid equipment; but not a single really great Ultramontane is to be found among the ranks of its old pupils. They were but average goods, and at best occupied leading positions within the Centre party. Yet no one would seek to maintain that among the many boys and youths sent to Feldkirch there were none that could be moulded into ultramontane celebrities. The fact is that Jesuit education does not aim at greatness, but at uniform mediocrity. As the Order itself is a huge factory of good "tools" fashioned uniformly by the machine, not a master's studio for individual art, so its schools for external pupils are wholesale institutions for mass production.

The educational results of the Order bear the impress that stamps its labours on every domain, a brilliant

* To give an idea of the diffusion of the Order, the number of its institutions and the consequent extent of its influence, I quote some figures. Crétineau-Joly, in his "History of the Society of Jesus" (V., p. 278), enumerates for the year 1762, 22,787 members, of whom 11,010 were priests; 39 provinces of the Order; 24 houses for the professed; 669 colleges; 61 novitiate houses. Pachtler, S.J. (*Monum. Germ. paed.*, 9, IX.–XVIII.), mentions 200 colleges for the territory of the German Empire down to the time of the suppression of the Order in 1773, and 36 colleges for the German, Dutch, Austrian, and Belgian Provinces after the restoration of the Order in 1815.

exterior and inward hollowness. But the advertising genius of the Order succeeds again and again in deceiving the ultramontane as well as the non-ultramontane world by the glitter of its show. One very common means of deception is worth mentioning.

The Jesuits have in readiness a long list of celebrated names, intended to show the excellence of their educational results. Behold, they say, these great men are all Jesuit pupils. In France especially this kind of testimony is in favour. But these records of fame do not state how many of these great men spent only a short time at a Jesuit establishment; nor the fact that the most celebrated owe their celebrity to their adoption of a road running counter to that prescribed by the Jesuit system. Again and again we find the names of Condé, Turenne, Descartes, Molière, and Voltaire and the like; who knows whether a future age may not add those of Passaglia and my unworthy self!

The Jesuit Order is the most consistent and successful advocate of the boarding-school system, which removes children from their home and family and country.

But the natural soil for a growing child is that of his own family; only under very exceptional circumstances should the young human plant be transplanted to foreign soil. The Jesuit Order has succeeded in making the exception the rule, and has induced thousands of parents of all nationalities to send their sons away for years, and place them under the charge of the Order. The harm thus done is not small.

Just in those years of development when the family life is so very important and the influence of mother and sisters so beneficial in helping to form a young man's disposition and character, the boy is taken from the influence of home and introduced to surroundings where, removed from all family ties and contact with women,

he finds himself in an atmosphere but little suited to boys, who come from families and intend to spend their lives in them. And what is the object to be attained? It is more advantageous for the Order to mould the future men, fathers, politicians, writers, etc., for years in their own spirit, unhampered by any influences from without. Therefore, on the very first step of the Jesuit system of education, we encounter the typical Jesuit egotism.

Again, the members trained in the spirit of the Order are bad educators. This is not, of course, the deliberate purpose of their training, but they lack qualities indispensable to good educators, and they possess others which unfit them for the work.

In the first place, they have no sense of nationality; their thoughts and feelings must be international—not national.

The Constitutions say:—

"Everyone who enters the Society must follow the injunction of Christ, and must forsake father, mother, brothers, sisters, and all that he has in the world, and he must believe that this saying is intended for him: 'If any man come to me, and hate not his father and his mother . . . yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple.' He must, therefore, endeavour to put aside all natural inclination towards those who are connected by the ties of blood, and substitute for it a spiritual affection, loving them only with that love which charity enjoins upon us, so that, being dead to the world and self-love, he may live for Christ our Lord only, and set Him in the place of parents, brothers, and all else."

And the authentic *Declaratio* adds:—

"In order that the mode of expression may assist the feelings, it is a holy counsel that they should accustom themselves not to say that they have parents or brothers, but that they had them, thus indicating that they no longer have that which they have forsaken, in order to put Christ

in the place of everything. This should be particularly observed by those who seem more in danger of being troubled by some natural affection. This is more frequently the case with novices."*

From this foundation naturally springs a regulation saturated with internationalism :—

" In the Society no inclination towards any particular party should exist, or allow itself to be felt in any dispute which may arise between Christian princes or lords. Instead, a kind of universal love should prevail, which embraces in the Lord all parties, even if opposed to one another."†

How could teachers with such non-national and international disposition arouse, transmit, or maintain national feeling ?

This internationalism is, if possible, increased by systematically combining various nationalities in the teaching staff and among the pupils. I have already quoted the decree of the General Congregation which prescribes this mixture in order to prevent the difference of nationalities making itself felt. As far as Feldkirch is concerned, I can testify to its observance, for Germans, Austrians, Swiss, Italians, French Alsatians (it was before 1870) were all among the teaching staff. For many years the office of Rector was filled by natives of French Switzerland—the Jesuits Minoux and Billet, and the French Alsatian, Father Faller, who for a time was also General Prefect. Thus the most influential posts, on which the general conduct of the German establishment at Feldkirch depended, were filled by foreigners, both of whom spoke only broken German, and were thoroughly French in manner and bearing. Even in the 'eighties Father Karl Schäffer, who, after his father's early death, had been educated by his English mother in accordance with the

* *Examen generale*, IV., 7, Declar. C.

† Const. X., 11, *Summarium Constitutionum*. 43.

ideas of her country, and was more of an Englishman than a German, at one time filled the post of Rector, at another that of General Prefect. As I was his fellow-pupil for some years at Feldkirch, his "German national sentiments" are well known to me.

The pupils, too, came from various countries. Scarcely one European nationality was lacking, and there were many pupils also from beyond the seas. Our numbers included Germans, Austrians, Frenchmen, Swiss, English, Irish, Italians, Spaniards, Portuguese, Dutch, Belgians, Danes, Hungarians, Poles, Russians, Chilians, Peruvians, Brazilians and North Americans.

Now I do not deny the advantages of international intercourse, which helps to destroy prejudices, widen the horizon, and improve the knowledge of languages. But the years of early boyhood are not suited for the enjoyment of these advantages, for this can only be done at the expense of still immature national feeling. Only when this has grown strong can international influence be beneficial; before that, it can only have a levelling effect. But, of course, this mixture of teachers and pupils is a principle of the Jesuit system, one of the pillars on which it rests. Accidental or even intentional contact with internationalism, if it occurs at the right age, is helpful; but systematic and fundamental saturation with it is mischievous always and everywhere.

A festival pamphlet, published in honour of the jubilee of the Feldkirch school on the 20th of June, 1906, which bears an official character, lays special stress on the international character of the institution:—

"Flags and arms of European and many non-European countries, symbolic of the international representation of the different pupils, . . . served as a greeting and welcome to each new arrival."*

* *Kölnische Volkszeitung*, of June 23rd, 1906.

Here a German educational institution for German boys boasts of its internationalism.

Secondly, Jesuit discipline makes it impossible for a Jesuit to be a good educator.

Abandonment of the world, detachment from all earthly affection, surrender of the will and reason to the Superior, are fundamental principles of Jesuit discipline. But from the point of view of an educator they are injurious.

The systematic abandonment of the world has reached its highest point in the Jesuit system through the hermetic seclusion of its own education in the novitiate and scholasticate. A Jesuit leaves this seclusion, whither no suggestion of the political or intellectual life of his nation has penetrated, in order immediately to take his place as educator among a troop of boys and youths who come from the world which to him is inaccessible, and are destined to live and work there in future. He is to be their guide and counsellor in matters for which he himself lacks knowledge and comprehension.

A good educator must be able to establish confidential relations of love and affection with his pupils. But Jesuit discipline forbids all attachment to things, places, and persons. If he feels the beginning of any closer tie, he must destroy the delicate fabric, for he is to be animated by sacred indifference (*sancta indifferentia*). The Jesuit must know neither sex nor fatherland; he must be a creature without emotion or feeling.

There is no point on which Jesuit discipline lays greater stress, and to which it devotes greater energy, than the annihilation of self by complete subjection of reason and will to the will and reason of the Superior. The highest aim of the Jesuits is dependence of thought, feeling, will, and resolution. The highest aim of education is independence, development of our own personality, training of our own feelings, thoughts, will and resolve.

These few remarks and contrasts will show how ill-fitted for the work of education is a Jesuit who follows the directions and the spirit of his Order. Men who allow themselves to be handled by others as corpses and staves, who may never on any question resist the judgment of another (except in a case of open sin), are incapable of moulding youth, which must go through life on its own feet.

But the *Ratio Studiorum* does contain a system of education of distinct pedagogic value. So the Jesuits and their eulogists maintain. What are the facts ?

Of a system of education contained in the *Ratio* it is impossible to speak. Here and there religious and pedagogic commonplaces are interwoven in it. That is all.

The sciences are to be taught in such a way that our fellow-creatures may by them be aroused to the knowledge and love of their Creator and Redeemer.* The scholars should make as great progress as possible in leading a worthy life to God's glory.† The special attention of the teacher should be directed on suitable occasions, both during lessons and at other times, to leading the pupils to the love and service of God, and the practice of those virtues by which we may become well-pleasing to Him, and to influencing them to direct all their studies towards this end.‡ He should realise that he is elected in order zealously, and with all the means in his power, to assist the Rector in the conduct and direction of the schools, in order that the pupils may progress both in knowledge and in a virtuous life.§ The boys who have been entrusted for education to the Society should be instructed in such a fashion that they may acquire not only knowledge, but also a truly Christian character. When a good oppor-

* Rule 1 for the Provincial.
† Rule 1 for the Prefect of Studies.
‡ Rule 1 for the Teachers of Higher and Lower Studies.
§ Rule 1 for the Prefect of the Lower Schools.

tunity offers in the lesson hours and at other times, too, his chief endeavour should be to win the tender hearts of youth to the service and love of God, and to make them susceptible to all virtues well-pleasing to God. . . . On Friday or Saturday he should also give half an hour to pious exhortation or expounding the catechism ; above all, he should admonish them to pray to God daily, especially to recite the rosary every day, or the Hours of Mary, to conscience-searching at night, to frequent and worthy observance of the sacraments of penance and the communion, to avoidance of bad habits, hatred of vice, and finally to the practice of all virtues worthy of a Christian.*

This is a sample of the system of education to be found in the *Ratio Studiorum.* It is surely a matter of course that a religious order should dwell on the encouragement of virtue, the love of God, of a reputable life, the avoidance of bad habits, hatred of vice, and represent these as the goal of its education. From the point of view of distinct religious education, such educational principles are the most ordinary commonplaces. They assert everything and nothing, and their presence in a religious scheme of education claiming to be the result of centuries of thought and experience gives an impression of poor and hackneyed phrases.

Indeed, these principles are so general that even Duhr admits, in regard to the above quoted third rule for the Teachers of the Higher Faculties, which is worded in a less general manner :—

" These requirements and wishes are not peculiar to the Jesuits, but are the requirements made by the whole Catholic Church from all who earnestly and faithfully seek to lead a religious life."†

* General rules for the Teachers of the Lower Grades, 1 and 5 (*cf.* also Const. Part IV., *cp.* 7, 2 ; 16, 4 ; and Rule 3 for the Teachers of the Higher Faculties).

† Duhr, *Die Studienordnung der Gesellschaft Jesu*, p. 32.

But the few definite educational precepts which appear in the *Ratio* alongside of these commonplaces are, like all else contained in it, neither original nor good and desirable.

In the first place, there is the universal, police-like supervision, which extends even to pious practices and the fulfilment of religious duties. Rule 9 for the Teachers of the Lower Grades prescribes :—

" He must see to it that no one omits the monthly confession, and give them cards, with Christian and surname and the number of the class, to be handed to the confessors, so that on looking them through afterwards he may see whether any have been absent."

Here a large and important part of religious life, and a duty which by its very nature should be voluntary and personal, is placed under compulsion and supervision. Confession, from the religious point of view regarded as the reconciliation of man with God and the unburdening of the sin-laden soul, is an act that must proceed from free impulse and individual determination. Compulsory confession under official control destroys all the good, and degrades it into a means of educational discipline. And, in fact, this is the object of the Jesuit rules, as I shall show later when speaking of the rules for confession and the " conscience account " (*ratio conscientiae*) within the Order.

Nor is the Jesuit pupil free to choose his own confessor. Every year the Order appoints some fathers for this office. These, and no others, must hear the pupil's confession, no matter whether he has confidence in them or not.

The external supervision, too, is very strict and suggestive of a reformatory. Whether at meals, study, or play, whether asleep in bed or at prayer in the chapel, a pupil is never alone. Not the faintest degree of trust is placed in his moral responsibility. Day and night, in

every place and at every hour, he knows himself observed. On the staircases and corridors, which he must traverse hurriedly to get from one room to another, stand prefects of the *atrium* invigilating. This is in accordance with the 44th Rule for the Prefect of Gymnasium Studies :—

" During the whole school time he should be stationed in the corridors or in a room from which he can overlook them."

Besides the official supervision by the teachers, there is to be mutual supervision among the pupils.

In each class, in accordance with the tradition of the country, the prefect is to appoint a pupil as public censor, or, if this title is displeasing, a head *decurio* or *praetor*. In order to give him importance in the eyes of his fellow pupils, he must enjoy some special privilege and possess the right, with the teacher's consent, to demand the remission of punishment for small offences. He is to notice whether one of his fellow pupils loiters in the courtyard before the signal for school, or enters another school, or his own, or leaves his place. Every day he must report to the prefect the absence of any pupil, or the presence in the class-room of anyone not belonging to the school, and any breaches of rule that may have occurred in the absence of the teacher.*

" In every class *observatores* are to be appointed who are to write down and hand to the teachers the names of boys who fight in the street, throw stones, or insult others, treat anyone disrespectfully or abusively, loiter on the way to school, use indecent language, and in summer play truant in the water, in winter on the ice. In the three lower classes ' deans ' are to be appointed . . . whose duty it is to report all those who deserve to be punished."†

These regulations imply something very different from

* Rule 37 for the Prefects of Gymnasium Studies.

† School regulations of the Society of Jesus of the years 1560–61. *Monum. Germ. paed.*, 2, 161 *et seq.*

the ordinary functions of a monitor; they are an official sanction of tale-bearing, and in order to make the institution acceptable to both parties and establish it more firmly among the pupils, a right of pardon is also conferred on the tale-bearer. This is supposed to set at rest the young mind, which naturally revolts from tale-bearing. And the privilege of pardon also serves as an inducement to apply for the post of censor.

Espionage and tale-bearing appear to prevail even out of school, to judge from the 11th Rule for the Prefect:—

"He is to enter in a book whether any of the pupils are acquainted with the house [of some new pupil]."

And the 36th Rule for the Teachers of the Lower Grades:—

"The teacher must also appoint the *decuriones*. Their duty is to hear the lessons, to collect the written work for the master, and to note the number of times a boy answers wrong or neglects his written work or omits to bring his notes, and anything else which the master may direct."

This last clause clearly shows that denunciation was part of the *decurio's* work; for after enumerating everything that might naturally come within the scope of a monitor's duties, it extends the range of his denunciatory activity to anything "which the master may direct."

In former times this system was carried even further. The old *Ratio* contained the sentence:—

"Every teacher must have his own open and secret censors and a chief censor, through whom he may make inquiry (*inquirat*) as to the moral character of the others."*

Does not the word "*inquirat*" point to an organised system of inquisition and denunciation? True, this particular wording has disappeared from the *Ratio*. But its presence in the first draft after many years of consideration

* Duhr, S.J., *Die Studienordnung der Gesellschaft Jesu, Bibliothek der kathol. Pädagogik*. Freiburg, 1896. Vol. IX., p. 53.

and probation, in which the General and his assistants, the superiors and provincial and a specially appointed commission took part,* shows the spirit which is intended to animate the whole. The deletion of the words is a prudent piece of tactics, but the spirit which animated them is unchanged. This is proved by the explanatory treatise by Kropf on the educational principles of the Order, where he openly recommends denunciation.

It is, indeed, impossible to deny the denunciatory spirit of the Order, which must be borne in mind when dealing with the passages of the *Ratio* which speak of censors, decurions, and the like.

In an official letter of the Bohemian Provincial, Father Stanislaus Bieczynski, we read :—

"How great a value we set on denunciation as the true eye of the Society must be known to everyone (*quanti pupilla Societatis delatio a nobis aestimata sit, neminem latere autumo*). Nor do those err who suppose that the greater part of the annoyances to which the Society is subject spring from neglect and disregard of denunciation. It is therefore particularly enjoined upon all, as loving sons of the Society, to pay due regard to a matter of such importance, and putting aside all considerations, in accordance with the spirit of our institution, truly and faithfully to report to the Superior everything which they judge in the Lord should be reported. They may be assured that they are performing an office both grateful and advantageous to the welfare of the Society, if they zealously strive after that which the safety of our Order requires of all in this respect. But in order that the brotherly denunciation (*fraterna delatio*) sacredly enjoined on us by our holy Patriarch [Ignatius Loyola] may not be carried to extreme by misuse, and thus through our fault

* Duhr, S.J., *Die Studienordnung der Gesellschaft Jesu, Bibliothek der kathol. Pädagogik.* Freiburg, 1896. Vol. IX., p. 19 *et seq.*

transform into poison that which should be a means of healing, or rather the very salvation of our Order, all are most earnestly exhorted, before reporting anything to their Superior, mindful of our institutions, to pray, and not to appeal superficially to God, but read carefully through the directions concerning writing, in particular par. 21, that they may not, carried away by their disapproval, exaggerate, and instead of wholesome reporting and brotherly denunciation, distort the doings of others, and calumniate and insult them. How greatly the chief leaders of our Order have detested this plague [of insult and calumniation] is evident from the words which were recently, on the 30th of March, 1653, addressed to our province: 'I beseech your Reverence to exhort all in very serious terms not to weary themselves nor their superiors with calumniations, and not to take up their pens hastily, nor foolishly, nor too boldly.' "*

We observe in this interesting document (1) that real denunciation (*defero, delatio*) is in question; (2) that it is the eye (*pupilla*) and salvation of the whole Order; (3) that it is wrapped in religious garb, with prayer, invocation of the Deity, etc.; (4) that the denunciation appointed by the Constitutions has developed by means of calumny into a veritable plague.

I shall have occasion later to return to the "eye" of the Order.

Another method of supervision, not mentioned in the *Ratio Studiorum*, is connected with the correspondence of the pupils. Even a boy's letters to and from his parents are read by the Jesuit to whom this duty is assigned, usually the General Prefect or the Rector. Though, of course, complete freedom of correspondence is impossible in an educational institution, supervision of letters to and

* Codex of the Vienna Court Library, No. 13,620, p. 10, from Kelle, pp. 185 and 301.

from parents is a mischievous practice. It leads the children to look down on their parents, since their letters are regarded with suspicion, and just where they should be most natural and original they are subjected to external control, and their tenderest thoughts are exposed to the spying gaze of unsympathetic readers; for how should a Jesuit understand the family!

And this practice, harmful as it always must be, is absolutely insulting in Jesuit establishments. For the parents and families of the pupils are well known to the authorities, and are almost all Catholics in a good position. But Jesuit education, whether for the members of the Order or the other pupils committed to their care, rests largely on mistrust. This is the soil from which spring all those rules and regulations which surround and spy upon the individual and the community with a system of Argus eyes. The principle of Jesuit education is not to give confidence for confidence, but to requite the confidence of pupils and parents with mistrust on the part of the teachers.

Why then do parents submit to this insulting supervision? Because the blind belief of Catholic Ultramontanes in everything done by the Jesuits stifles their individual judgment. Here, as of the Papacy and the Church, it may be said: Everything that proceeds from this source, no matter what its nature, is good.

But the worst type of supervision is characteristically clothed with the garb of religion. The prefects, assistants and counsellors of the Marian congregations are official denunciators, as I shall show presently when dealing with these congregations.

Another questionable educational method is the excessive appeal to ambition. Though of itself a strong and harmless impetus to industry, it is injurious when carried to the lengths laid down in the *Ratio Studiorum*,

because it tends to over-stimulate the sense of honour. And the form it takes is often so childish and mechanical, so exclusively directed to mere externals, as to destroy every masculine and natural quality.

One of these incentives to emulation is the "concertation," thus described in the *Ratio* :—

"It is usually conducted in such a way that either the teacher asks questions, and the pupils vie with one another to give the correct answer, or else the rivals ask one another questions. This method is of great value, and should be adopted whenever time permits, in order that a noble rivalry, that powerful inducement to industry, may be promoted. This contest may be conducted by single pairs or by groups, chosen especially from the dignitaries of the class, or one pupil may challenge several. One ordinary pupil may challenge another and one dignitary another, sometimes even an ordinary pupil may challenge one of the dignitaries, and in case of victory may claim his office or some other reward of victory. . . . Once a month or every two months the dignitaries of the class are to be chosen. . . . The most industrious pupil receives the chief office, and those who come nearest to him the next highest; and in order to add to the learned aspect of the proceedings, their titles are to be taken from Greek or Roman civil or military terms. With a view to promoting the spirit of rivalry the class may be divided into two parties, each with its own dignitaries opposed to those of the other side.* The dignitaries of the two parties take the places of honour."†

Everything in this is unhealthy, and calculated to evoke not a noble spirit of rivalry, but petty and mean spite. The distinction between ordinary scholars and dignitaries, the division of the class into hostile parties,

* At Feldkirch the classes were divided into Romans and Carthaginians.

† General rules for the Teachers of the Lower Grades, 31, 35.

the rewards of victory and the places of honour, all alike are pernicious. These unhealthy conditions are increased by the theatrical pomp of the prize-givings, the public proclamation of the names of the winners, and the applause and musical honour with which they are greeted.*

The distribution of offices to the pupils in the Jesuit schools is also calculated to over-stimulate ambition. Among these I may mention the "leaders," two to each division, who march at the head of the lines; the janitor, who sits near the door of the class-room, and has to answer the knocks; the questor, who has to provide the requisites for games and to conduct the sale of chocolate, fruit and other dainties; captains of the games; *servi Mariae*, whose office it is to deck the statues of the Madonna placed in each of the class-rooms; chief acolyte, who leads the acolytes at Mass. The offices are assigned afresh every half-year.

Besides the honour, these office-bearers enjoy some material advantages. Official suppers take place several times in the year, at which wine, beer, coffee and other delicacies are served. This combination of honour with the gratification of the appetite is a peculiarity of the Jesuits which cannot be approved. It encourages greed, and places its satisfaction side by side with honour. Jesuit education never encourages the doing of what is good and right for its own sake, but always holds out some other inducement. The desire for sensuous pleasures and enjoyment, which Jesuit ethics condemn in theory, is in reality the very foundation of their education.

The practice of reading out marks every Sunday acts as a stimulus to ambition and a means of supervision, reward and punishment. The General Prefect and his *Socius* go through the class-rooms of the different divisions,

* *Cf.* Regulations for the distribution of prizes, 11, 12, quoted on p. 62.

and read aloud the marks awarded to each of the pupils in the past week for piety, industry, attention and conduct.

The mere reading out of marks, with short comments of praise or blame, would be open to no objection; but the manner in which it is done, and the personal remarks with which it is attended, amount to the most brutal kind of public branding or laudation, for even the adulation of the good pupil may be brutal. But the brutality was, of course, more marked in the case of the bad pupil. I have assisted at readings of marks, especially during the general prefectship of Julius Pottgeisser, which broke every record for coarse vulgarity. Even passages from letters written by anxious parents to the head of the establishment were sometimes read out; this happened two or three times during my stay. The object was to deepen the impression of the anxiety expressed by the parents of the particular boy. It never seems to have occurred to the teachers that it was an act of meanness, likely to deaden our sense of delicacy. The comments also tended to create in us a sort of false conscience, since copying, prompting one another, and the like, were represented as grievous moral sins which God would punish. The exaggeration of the wickedness of such ordinary school crimes is doubtless common to all schools, even at the present day; but in religious establishments, which boast of a purer morality and reasoned educational methods, such exaggeration is a sign of weakness.

Rule 29 for the Prefect of Gymnasium Studies contains this admonition:—

"He should assign more comfortable seats to the aristocratic pupils, and no important alteration must be made here without his knowledge."

How thoroughly characteristic of the Order! Everywhere special regard is paid to worldly advantages, rank,

money, power, influence. Similarly, we find in a treatise prepared for the benefit of Jesuit scholastics (*tractatus de magisterio*, cp. 9) :—

" Pupils from noble families in particular must not be caned except for some very serious cause ; and it will be wiser for the master to submit the matter to the Prefect of Studies and seek his advice."*

But the middle-class pupil may be caned without any such measures of precaution. The new edition of 1832 retains the regulation, with addition of the words " where it is customary."

At Feldkirch, the aristocratic pupils did not have more comfortable seats, but the boys of the first boarding house, where the fees were higher and there were many sons of the nobility, always sat in front of those in the second boarding house, alike in the class-room, church and at entertainments. The spirit of the regulation was observed, too, in the custom of allowing only pupils of the aristocratic first house to take part in musical and theatrical performances. And the differences in rank and income were carried even into the Marian congregations, by giving the members of the first house more elegant and expensive badges, medals and flags than those of the second house.

A report addressed by the Austrian Minister, Count Pergen, on the 26th of August, 1770, to the Empress Maria Theresa calls attention to this weak point in Jesuit education, the exaltation of rank and wealth and the repression of poverty and humility. It says :—

" The children of the lower classes who cannot pay special fees for the instruction which is so generously supported out of public funds, are often completely neglected, though intellectually well endowed, and rarely

* Codex in the Vienna Court Library, No. 10,578, from Kelle, *Die Jesuiten gymnasien in Oesterreich*. Munich, 1876, pp. 222 and 304.

meet with the attention which their industry deserves."*

Cornova, too, blames the neglect of the poor scholars, who, from educational considerations, should receive, if not greater advantages, at any rate similar treatment.

"If, therefore, the parts in the school plays were almost exclusively given to the children of wealthy parents and scarcely ever to poor scholars, it was just those, who most needed the opportunity for developing their bodies and losing their shyness, to whom it was denied. The son of the rich house already possessed both advantages, thanks to his more careful education."†

Thus it was and still is. Wealth and display are the favourite spheres of Jesuit activity, and consideration for both a characteristic of Jesuit educational methods.

If ever the Order does anything for the poor and humble, and admits poor scholars of the lower classes, it is either done with great ostentation and parade of benevolence, or in a fashion calculated to wound the poor recipients, such as the erection of houses, boarding-schools, libraries for the poor (*domus pauperum, convictus pauperum, bibliothecae pauperum*), or else—and this is the main reason—out of the crassest self-interest, for the poor scholars are to serve the interests of the Order.‡

The poor scholar had his poverty impressed on him; he was also plainly shown that what he received was alms; and his support was often made dependent on his pledge to join the priesthood or the Order. An ordinance as to the feeding of poor students at Vienna begins in this characteristic fashion:—

"Of the broken victuals (*reliqua ciborum*) to be dis-

* Helfert, *Die Gründung der oesterreichischen Volksschule durch Maria Theresia*, Prague, 1860, p. 203.

† *Die Jesuiten als Gymnasiallehrer*, Prague, 1804, p. 122.

‡ P. 80.

tributed to poor students at the gate of the professed house of the Society of Jesus at Vienna."*

The ordinance goes on to speak of the evil custom, which is to be abolished, of letting the poor scholars, in return for the broken victuals handed them at the gate, perform menial services in the Jesuit houses.

And the festival report of the Jubilee of the Feldkirch school (20th of June, 1906), gives the preference to money and rank :—

" In the name of the pupils, a scholar of the highest class, Count Ferdinand von Bissingen, welcomed the guests in eloquent verse. Count Max von Droste-Vischering, as president of the Committee of Preparation, explained the aim and intention of the Jubilee celebrations."†

Only nobles, counts and the like speak in the name of the scholars, though the great majority have no titles, and, as a rule, the pupils of the second house are better and more able scholars. But then they are inmates of the socially inferior house.

The regulations for the discipline of the pupils are characteristic of Jesuit education. The only method recognised by the *Ratio Studiorum* is corporal punishment.‡

In my own view, notwithstanding the Bible and the

* *Monum. Germ. paed.*, 16, 245.

† *Kölnische Volkszeitung*, June 23, 1906.

‡ English readers cannot fail to be struck by the very close resemblance between the Jesuit schools as here described and the English public schools—*e.g.* the boarding-school system, the participation of the boys in school government, the employment of untrained teachers, many of whom (in the past, at any rate) were destined for the ministry, the close connection between Church and school, corporal punishment, compulsory games, public prize-givings, and the weekly marking. These would seem to point to a common origin, whether the connection between them be direct or indirect. Of course, similarity in the mechanism does not by any means indicate similarity of spirit. Indeed, it is instructive to observe to what different ends the same instruments may be put. The means employed in the English public school to secure independence and initiative seem to be utilised by the Jesuits for purposes of espionage, and to secure unreasoning dependence on the part of the pupils. No motto could be less appropriate to the English public-school boy than *perinde ac cadaver.—Translator.*

wisdom of our forefathers, blows, from the educational standpoint, are a mistake. The teacher, as a rule, resorts to them because his educational methods as well as his patience have given out. I have been confirmed in this view since I have had children of my own, and realise that all true education depends on training the will. Where the aim is to cause recognition of the fault and a cheerful determination to correct it, there is no place for corporal punishment. And surely a religious system of education, which recognises no other means of punishment than the cane (for admonitions do not rank as punishment), bears testimony to its own educational bankruptcy.

Rule 38 for the Prefect of Higher Studies runs thus :—

"For those who are deficient in industry and good conduct, and who cannot be influenced by words and admonitions, a master of discipline is to be appointed, who must not be a member of the Society. Where such an one cannot be found, some other plan must be devised for inflicting the proper punishment on the culprits, either by one of the scholars or in some other suitable fashion."

Could anything be more uneducational, detestable, or characteristically Jesuitical ? The punishment is to be inflicted by a salaried master of discipline or a fellow-pupil. In one of the school regulations of the Society of Jesus of 1560–61 we find :—

"The number of strokes for ordinary faults (*peccata*) is six. In the case of serious offences the teachers should consult the Prefect. The boys who are punished are to be held down by other boys."*

This is, however, immediately followed by a prohibition of punishment inflicted by fellow-pupils. But thirty years later, in the official *Ratio Studiorum*, binding on the whole Order, this recommendation is omitted, and the pupils become masters of discipline for their comrades.

* *Monum. Germ. paed.*, 2, 160.

During my time in Feldkirch the master of discipline was one of the men servants at the boarding house. He was a lusty young peasant, named Stieger. We coined a verb from his name, and said of those on whom his disciplinary powers had been exercised, "He has been stiegered."

Corporal punishment inflicted by the teacher—who, after all, stands in the father's place—does not injure a child's honour and self-respect, but it would be hard to imagine anything more degrading or better calculated to deaden his sense of dignity than blows from a hired servant. And, indeed, the boys who underwent this discipline were "morally dead" in their own eyes and ours.

I still vividly remember two pupils whose lives were thus ruined, one an Italian and the other a native of the Vorarlberg. As often as three times a week they were "led to the stieger," with the inevitable result of their deeper degradation. The effect of this treatment on a young Prussian was the drawing of a knife in self-defence, which, of course, availed him nothing. But his behaviour thenceforth was such that he was soon expelled.

What part, then, does the Jesuit educator play in the infliction of corporal punishment? He remains in the background. "The master of discipline must not be a member of the Society." But either blows have educational value in the Jesuit view, or they have not. The rule shows that they are supposed to have it. In that case the teacher himself should inflict them. If he avoids doing so in order to escape pollution, he is acting counter to his own educational instructions, and is guilty of a pedagogic crime, through the egotism of the Order, lest the duties of a master of discipline should bring odium upon it. Therefore, in order to avoid an educational obligation, it hands the pupils over to paid hirelings for punishment.

The extreme and final penalty was expulsion. On this, too, the Jesuits managed to set their own impress by contriving to ruin the reputation of the expelled pupil. Not that they made public the special offences which had brought it about, but an expelled pupil was represented as an almost lost soul, who had forfeited the great grace of Jesuit education, and, therefore, ran the risk of everlasting destruction. I shall show later with what intensity their arrogance and untruthfulness led them to blacken the reputation of those who voluntarily, or under compulsion, left the Order.

What might almost be designated as a negative educational method was the strict prohibition of friendships.

"Particular friendships," as they were officially designated, were represented as something pernicious, a grave danger to morality, and immediate occasions for sin. Here, too, the Jesuit spirit distorts the natural into the unnatural, and finds base results in a noble source. Everywhere else friendships between pupils are approved and fostered, because they often sow the seed of a rich harvest for after life. But the Jesuits, with their besetting dread of immorality, denounce them, and thus turn a boy's imagination to things that would otherwise be unknown to him.

Yet this dread of immorality is not the only—or, indeed, the chief—reason for the prohibition of particular friendships. It is only another means toward their main object. No one must possess the confidence of the pupil except those specially appointed by the Order, the confessor, president of the Congregation, prefect, and other officials. But if two pupils are united in friendship, they form a separate unit into which the feelers of the Order cannot penetrate; it finds itself confronted with a little world which no longer revolves solely around itself, because centrifugal forces may arise in it leading away from its centre. The single pupil, with no friend at his side, is

entirely under Jesuit influence, and that is why he must be maintained in isolation, and why the noblest possession of youth—friendship—must be ruthlessly suppressed.

This crushing down of the emotions of friendship in young hearts exercises a destructive influence even beyond the boundaries of the school. It is not common for Jesuit pupils to form friendships in youth or manhood. The road to this most precious possession has been blocked by Jesuit training. I myself had to clear the road with labour and effort.

I have already dealt with the curious distinction between pupils and scholars in the Jesuit schools. The good pupils are seldom good scholars, although guidance and supervision of study are part of the function of boarding-school education. The centre of gravity of Jesuit education is outward good conduct, the observance of rules and pious practices. It has no profound effect on mind and will, yet it is in their depths that lie the powers which can overcome the difficulties of learning and the struggle for knowledge.

This view is confirmed by an observation I made when at Feldkirch, though at that time I did not realise its cause and significance. The day-boys were always the better scholars, and usually at the top of their class. Now, it was they who came least under Jesuit influence ; they did not live in the boarding houses, and were, therefore, comparatively free in their private life. Even within the precincts of an establishment entirely under Jesuit direction —as was Feldkirch, in spite of its day boys—it would appear that the further removed from Jesuit educational influence, which aims mainly at producing " good " pupils animated by a " good disposition," as was constantly impressed on us in private and public exhortations, the better the scholars.

School libraries are important educational factors.

Though not recognised by the *Ratio Studiorum*, even in the 1832 edition, they have been introduced in modern Jesuit institutions.

At Feldkirch, each of the three divisions had its own library, which was open during our free time, 8 to 8.45 p.m. and 2 to 4 p.m. on Sundays. The contents of the cases were extraordinarily meagre both as regards quantity and quality. A moderate-sized cupboard contained all the literary treasures of the first division, to which the elder boys, including the first class (eighth form) pupils belonged. Of course, none but one-sided ultramontane literature was represented, but even that was for the most part rubbish. Among the gems were historical works by Annegarn von Weiss, and novels by the Countess Ida Hahn-Hahn. Goethe was not represented, nor yet Schiller, Lessing or any other classic in a complete edition. To compensate, there were numerous editions of the *opera omnia* of the Jesuit Antonio Bresciani, which I can only characterise as blood-curdling but pious sensational novels, directed against freemasons and the foes of the Church. The amazing tales of the Carbonari and apparitions of the devil far exceed the bounds of the permissible, and cannot fail to have a most pernicious effect on youthful minds.*

These tales of Bresciani's—which wise educators would carefully keep out of the way of their pupils—were greatly esteemed at Feldkirch. Not only were they to be found in our library, but some of the masters read portions of them aloud to us during our lesson hours. In the fifth and sixth forms (corresponding to the Lower and Upper

* Bresciani's most important works were two historical novels, *The Jew of Verona* and *Glimpses of the Roman Republic, or the Voluntary Exiles and Lionello.* They were first published in the official Jesuit journal, *Civilta Cattolica*, and afterwards republished for the benefit of the Catholic world in cheap editions in a variety of languages. The German edition of this book contains a long extract from a German translation of one of these sensational novels.

Second of the Gymnasium) my teacher of religion was Father van Aaken, afterwards General Prefect, and one of our most respected masters. It was his custom to read aloud to us in the last lesson before the holidays, and frequently he selected for the purpose chapters from Bresciani's novels. This preference for Bresciani on the part of the teacher of religion and apologetics was, as I have since realised, not without motive. These books had a value from the point of view of religious apologetics, since they revealed the cruelties and abominations of the foes of the Church.

I may add that, thanks to our teachers, we credited the most amazing tales about freemasons, and stories *à la* Bresciani, emanating from the *Patres*, were current among us.

The prefect of the infirmary was an old Frenchman, Father Dumont. How many a time did he entertain the sick boys, in his broken German, with the "devilries" of the freemasons. He had, as he assured us, known a French colonel who, when a freemason, carried about with him a consecrated host in a little box, which, in accordance with the ordinance of freemasonry, he bespat and pricked every day with a needle. The colonel himself had told him this. "*Que le diable les emportent!*" was the epilogue to his gruesome freemason stories.

It was a natural result of the spirit imbibed at Feldkirch from these Bresciani tales that a Jesuit, Father Hermann Gruber, who had been my fellow-pupil at Feldkirch and thence entered the Order, should have translated from the French Léon Taxil's works on freemasonry, and so made this mass of obscenity and absurdity accessible to the people of Germany.*

Even witchcraft and magic were formerly recognised

* *Cf.* my book, *Das Papsttum in seiner sozial-kulturellen Wirksamkeit*, I⁵, pp. 343–379.

in Jesuit establishments. Among the Jesuit documents of the Munich State archives there are detailed "ordinances for the procedure against pupils who are suspected of witchcraft and magic." For instance: "In order to get at the truth, no punishments other than the customary ones must be resorted to in our schools, nor must there be any threat of torture or any other severe penalty except for those on whom grave suspicion rests. [For these, apparently, torture chambers were appointed!] Those who insist firmly on their innocence are to be most carefully watched to see how they conduct themselves, and with whom they hold intercourse."*

These documents, which, after all, form a part of the Jesuit schemes of instruction and education, are carefully omitted by Pachtler and Duhr from their "complete" collection of documents concerning Jesuit schools, published in the *Monumenta Germaniae paedagogica* (Vols. 2, 4, 5, 9, 16).

I have purposely dwelt at some length on this point. For my aim was to destroy the legend that the Jesuit Order was a foe to superstition and religious phantasmagoria. If we say "promoter" instead, that would be nearer the mark. Jesuit literature of all ages and all kinds abounds in the follies and abortions of perverted religious imagination.

The general atmosphere of Feldkirch was one of outward order and discipline, but in some respects there was a remarkable lack of control.

We boys were allowed, unreproved and unpunished, to indulge our appetites in the most extraordinary fashion. This was particularly the case with the morning coffee, and the pancakes with apple sauce which were served twice a week at supper. The amount of "mocha" and

* J. Friedrich, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Jesuitenordens*, Munich, 1881, p. 85.

bread, pancake and apple sauce we contrived to devour is beyond description. Bets in chocolate were taken as to who would consume the largest quantity. And these *tours de force* were accomplished with the cognisance and in the presence of the supervising prefects, even the General Prefect, who presided in the refectory during meals. Among the achievements noted were eighteen large pancakes with the corresponding amount of apple sauce, and some of the mocha-drinkers got as far as nine large cups. There was, indeed, no attempt to induce self-control or decency in eating. On the other hand, we were often exhorted to refrain from food in honour of Mary or one of the saints. False asceticism was kept in view, but not decency.

Another objectionable practice that occurred in the refectory took place on Saturdays, when the dinner napkins were changed. Then the dirty ones flew all over the room, and would remain hanging on picture frames or curtain rods till the waiters fetched them down with ladders. Or else they were twisted and knotted and used for hitting neighbours at table. This practice was at its height under the prefectship of Fathers Faller and Schweden. Their successors, Pottgeisser and van Aaken, took measures to stop it. But the inordinate consumption of mocha, pancakes and apple sauce continued as before.

An excellent institution was the compulsory games, in which everyone had to participate. And the games themselves were for the most part unobjectionable. They were football, racquets, prisoner's base and a sort of football on stilts, which was not without a dangerous element, as injuries to the legs were not infrequent through striking the ball with the heavy stilt.

But incomprehensible from the educational point of view was a game, running the gauntlet, introduced by the General Prefect, Pottgeisser For this purpose pieces of

heavy cloth were specially provided, with which the pupils, ranged in a double row, mercilessly struck at the pupil whose turn it was to run. Unpopular boys received a severe beating. This game was a direct challenge to vent spite and dislike in a coarse and brutal fashion. It was afterwards abolished.

Before dealing with the chief educational instrument of the Order, the cultivation and expression of piety, I must touch on a question of the greatest importance for the purity of the system, particularly on its religious side. Do Jesuits seek to induce their pupils to enter the Order ?

It would be strange indeed if, with its robust and unscrupulous egotism, the Order were to neglect this excellent opportunity. And, indeed, it uses it to the full.

In the first place, the schools of the Jesuits are the nurseries of their own novitiate houses. Hundreds of boys pass from one to the other. In my novitiate days there were at least ten other Feldkirch boys among my comrades. And this is what happens every year.

But apart from the fact, we have to consider the system. Rule 6 of the General Rules for the Teachers of the Lower Grades runs :—

" In private talk, too, he should insist on religious practices, but in such a way as not to appear to entice any into our Order. Where he finds an inclination towards it, he should refer the boy to his confessor."

That seems innocent enough, but two points must not be overlooked. Firstly, the confessor to whom the Jesuit teacher is to refer the pupil who shows an inclination to enter the Order is a Jesuit too. Though the teacher must not " entice," the rule does not say what the confessor may do, nor, above all, what he does. Secondly, even the teacher is not actually forbidden to entice the pupil. He

must only not appear to entice him (*nullum . . . videatur allicere*). We may be sure the words were carefully chosen.

I do not blame the Jesuits for their propaganda, but only for wording the rule in such a fashion that, while professing with noble disregard of self to refrain from proselytising, its inner meaning permits its regular and energetic pursuit among the boys entrusted to the Order for purely educational purposes.

Cornova candidly admits the proselytising:—

"The Jesuits as teachers of Rhetoric and Philosophy also made a special boast of promoting to the Society capable pupils . . . yet such failures [referring to the admission of unsuitable material] were not so frequent but that in every levy of new recruits [from the public schools conducted by the Jesuits to the novitiate of the Order] by far the greater number had good abilities. Even the enemies of the Order admit the excellence of the selection; indeed, it is one of their grounds of complaint that the Society takes away the best brains from the State service."*

Of the particular kind of proselytising known as "Choice of Vocation," I shall speak later.

Of course, piety plays a great part in Jesuit education. The *Ratio Studiorum* itself does not go beyond general commonplaces, and it is only in the daily life of the educational establishments that we find it used as a means of education.

The pious exercises of the Jesuits are of two kinds—those that are common to all Catholic Ultramontanes, and those peculiar to the Jesuits. To the former belong morning and evening prayers, grace at meals, mass, sermons, vespers, benediction, communion. To the latter annual exercises, May devotions, and, above all, congregations.

* Cornova, *Die Jesuiten als Gymnasiallehrer*, Prague, 1804, pp. 21, 24.

Even the pious observances of the ordinary Ultramontane Catholic bear a Jesuitical impress, for they lack the voluntary element which alone gives them value. Besides being compulsory they are surrounded by such a mass of adjuncts as to suggest a theatre rather than a church, and a craving for spectacles and sensation rather than real inward edification.

I have already spoken of compulsory confession and the supervision exercised over it. Closely connected is compulsory Communion, which is equally reprehensible, since the real union of the soul with Christ, which, according to Catholic doctrine, takes place in the Communion, ought to be the outcome of the most intimate longing of the heart. The daily Mass, too, is compulsory, so that the three fundamental practices of Catholic piety—Mass, Communion and Confession—are the compulsory habits of a Jesuit pupil, observed from no inward need, but as a matter of routine and rule. Obviously this must diminish the ethical value of individual piety and its intimate character. Other compulsory practices are morning and evening prayer, grace at meals, vespers, and benediction, a service held before the exposed sacrament.

But how is it possible in an educational establishment to dispense with such compulsion ? It ought to be possible, since religion and piety are not needs that can be satisfied by large numbers in common and according to the clock, like lessons, eating, drinking, sleeping. An educational system which recognises the true nature of religion and piety should be content to offer scholars the opportunity of taking part in them, without setting " Thou shalt " in front of each of these pious practices.

Individual piety has, in fact, no place in Jesuit schools ; every thing and person is cast in the same mould ; at the sound of the bell they must pray in set, prescribed prayers ; the sound of the bell sends them into church or dismisses

them again. Except at these times, they are forbidden to enter church or chapel, although, according to Catholic doctrine, God and Christ are actually there in the flesh; and surely a pious individual would sometimes feel the desire to visit and greet Him there.

Another aspect of Jesuit piety which has its dubious side is the pomp of the services and all that pertains to them. There is a sickly sweetness about the whole, and a lack of robustness. The music supplied by the pupils' choir—of which I was a member—was a styleless mixture of French, Italian and German compositions, with a predominance of the operatic element. The regular masses were unobjectionable, although here, too, a strange medley of styles prevailed, ranging from Palestrina to Nickes, a new composer. But the chants and hymns were of a different character, for here the shallow compositions of the Jesuit, von Doss, played the chief part.

The decoration of the chapels and altars was showy, tasteless and tawdry. The statues or altar pictures of the Madonna and saints in the class-rooms were of the most insipid character, mere anæmic dolls' faces. A flood of light from candles, artistically grouped, shone from the altars at special High Masses and Benedictions, and the effect on our piety was to make us ask one another after service how many candles each had counted; and if the results of the various calculations at the morning service did not tally, the counting was renewed in the afternoon.

At Christmas a crèche was erècted in front of the high altar in the chief chapel, with life-size figures effectively illuminated by reflectors. As a theatrical representation, with its camels, Moors, sheep, shepherds and kings, it was an effective show-piece, but scarcely calculated to evoke true piety. Even the Most Venerable, the Host exposed in the golden monstrance for adoration, "Christ present in divinity and humanity, in flesh and blood," was

not spared the illumination and the reflectors—a practice which even then was repugnant to me, as seeming to degrade the chief mystery of religion into an effect of illumination. This theatrical effect must surely have hindered genuinely pious emotions in many a soul.

Even more theatrical and objectionable is the whole business of the acolytes. They are the lay assistants of the priest at the altar, and it is considered a privilege to be admitted among the number. On solemn occasions we were dressed in red or blue robes with shoes and caps of the same colour, and at a signal from the chief acolyte, had to form artistic groups in front of the altar, swinging silver censers and wielding tapers. Vanity and love of display were concealed under the red, blue and silver garb, and there was a material side to the office, as the acolytes were treated on certain occasions to afternoon coffee with wine, cake and fruit.

The May Meditations, too, which as a Marian institution are closely connected with the Congregations, bear marks of an unhealthy piety.

May is the Month of Mary—at any rate in Jesuit institutions, and Marian services with song and sermon are held there every evening. In Feldkirch it was also customary to place in front of the specially adorned image of the Madonna in the class-room a little basket, in which the pupils put folded papers, on which they had entered the virtuous practices which each intended to perform, "out of love for Mary." These *flores mariani* or *majici* (Flowers of Mary or May) were read aloud for the general edification, with the omission of the names, an educational measure which tended mainly to stimulate ambition and foster untruthfulness. How flattering to the vanity to hear our own acts of virtue recited, even though the name be omitted! How easy it becomes to practise virtues by merely writing them down! My prefect in the second

division, Father Filling, gave special solemnity to the reading of the virtuous practices by a preliminary address. But, if I remember rightly, he never took as his text Christ's exhortation, "Take heed that ye do not your alms before men to be seen of them."

Among the specifically Jesuitical observances the Spiritual Exercises and the Congregations take first rank.

Of the Spiritual Exercises, which originated with Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Order, I must treat later. I will now only indicate briefly the effect they had on us as pupils.

These Exercises were held every year, soon after the beginning of the session (end of October), and lasted for three days. They were to lay the religious foundation of the school-year, and to imbue us with the spirit of Jesuit education.

Four addresses were given every day. Silence, even during the hours of recreation, though not compulsory, was "regarded favourably," and observed by most of us. Whether lessons were also omitted I can no longer be certain. The whole proceedings culminated in a General Confession, extending over the whole of our lives or a definite period. The addresses were concerned with what were called the "Eternal Truths" and "Last Things," such as Death, the Judgment, Hell and Heaven, as well as Sin, Penance, Confession and the duties of our station.

If the disturbance of the childish spirit by the haunting dread of death, the judgment, hell, and the devil may be described as a good effect of religion, the Exercises were successful to the extent of producing strong, nervous excitement among the pupils, which often manifested itself in a condition of terror. But those who do not hold this unhealthy conception of piety can but condemn the Exercises and the manner in which they are conducted as unsuitable and even injurious for children.

It was particularly unfortunate that these addresses were given by old missioners, Jesuits who for many years had been accustomed to belabour hardened sinners, drunkards, and libertines, with the strongest and most drastic preaching methods, and to drive terror into their souls. It was all but impossible for such a Director of Exercises to adapt his tone and manner to the spiritual and mental vibrations of innocent boys. We learnt to shudder, but not to lift our souls upward to the serene heights of simple, natural piety. Here, too, the Jesuitical straining after effect, and the external accompaniments of piety, played their part. The discourses on the Last Things, Death, the Judgment, Hell, were given in the dim evening light in the scantily lighted chapel. It was natural that fear should seize on our souls.

The conclusion and goal of the Exercises was the General Confession. Our souls had been worked upon and stirred to their very depths. Things long past and long forgotten confronted us threateningly. In torturing anxiety, a boy would search through the years since his first confession, and even earlier. Did his soul and conscience then find peace in the confessional ? In most cases surely not. For a short time after the confession an outward calm came over him. Then he was again possessed by the painful impression which could not fail to spring from the raking up of past sins and transgressions, and goading of the soul by the Exercises. " Did I really confess all my sins ? " " Did I give their number quite accurately ? " " Did I feel genuine repentance ? " Such and similar questions did the Exercises raise in the childish soul, to the exclusion of peace and calm.

It is usual to speak only of " Marian " Congregations, but in Jesuit establishments there are two other kinds, introductory to the Marian—the Congregations of the

Guardian Angels and of St. Aloysius. Their scope and arrangement are modelled on the Marian Congregations, but they are of far less importance. They are intended for the juniors and youngest children; only the seniors, the pupils of the first division, who are on the eve of their departure, take part in Marian Congregations, which alone are official, confirmed by the Popes, richly provided with indulgences and privileges, and extending to all classes and professions.

The significance of the Marian Congregations for Jesuit influence is considerable. What the Third Order of St. Dominic and St. Francis signifies for Dominicans and Franciscans,* the extension of their influence among the laity, this and much more even is effected for the Jesuit Order by the Marian Congregations. I deal with them here in detail, because they are not merely intended for the young people brought up in Jesuit establishments, but have been developed by the Order into a universal educational means for all Catholics, male and female, throughout the world. In all towns and countries there are Congregations for maids and mothers, men and women, school-boys and school-girls, merchants and labourers, noble and simple, learned and unlearned.

The founders of the Marian Congregations were two Jesuits, Sebastian Cabarassi and John Leon, teachers in the College at Syracuse and afterwards at Rome, who in 1560–63 formed a community of their pupils "for the special adoration of the Holy Virgin."

"Besides his own young pupils at the Roman College, youths from other classes soon gathered round Leon, and in 1563 he was able to give a definite form and status to a community of seventy members. It passed now beyond the walls of the college and into the public church, where

* Dominicans and Franciscans have three classes of orders. To the first belong the monks, to the second the nuns, to the third laymen and laywomen, who are associated with these Orders under certain conditions.

it held solemn entry and took the name 'Congregation of the most blessed Virgin Mary, with the designation of the Annunciation.' "*

I do not for a moment doubt that the aim of the founders, Cabarassi and Leon, was simply to lead their pupils to a pure, moral life under the pious protection of the Virgin, on the basis of their own religious conceptions; and that they had no far-reaching plans for transforming the Congregation into a comprehensive instrument to further Jesuit aspirations for rule.

But behind and above them stood on a higher outlook-post the central government of the Order. It instantly grasped the immense value which this innocent religious foundation might have in spreading the influence of the Order, if it could be transformed, with enlarged statutes, into an organisation officially confirmed by the Church and favoured by the Pope. This became the conscious aim, and it was accomplished.

On the 5th of December, 1584, Gregory XIII. confirmed the Marian Congregation at Rome by the bull *Omnipotentis Dei*, gave it a canonical status, and designated it as the "First and Mother Congregation" (*Prima Primaria*) of all future congregations to be founded throughout the Catholic world. The example of Gregory was followed by Sixtus V., Clement VIII., Gregory XV., Benedict XIV., who conferred a store of indulgences and privileges on the Marian Congregations.

"As the child Moses from his cradle of rushes developed into the people of God, so the troop of happy lads from the Roman schoolroom marched forth into a thousand colleges, universities, ministries, courts of law, armies, cottages, and palaces, to the thrones of the world and the apostolic chairs of the Church. Once more God had elected the weak

* Löffler, S.J., *Zur Jubelfeier der marianischen Kongregationen*, 5 Dez., 1584—5 Dez., 1884. From *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, Freiburg i. Br., 1884, p. 8.

to initiate great changes in the life of mankind. From the Roman spring flowed a new stream of life, which poured its waters with marvellous speed over all the lands when its first silver drops had refreshed a few tender blades."*

In the whole of this wordy eulogium, so characteristic of Löffler's style, the only true statement is that the Congregations quickly girdled the world, and took possession of universities, ministries, courts of law, armies, and thrones. But it was not a troop of happy lads and children who spread the net and achieved conquests of such political and religious value. The motive power was the dominant, calculating spirit of the Jesuit Order, which here, as elsewhere, made the Papacy serve its own ends, concealing itself cleverly behind the "Vicar of Christ" and the Church, with their enormous authority, though really bringing them into the field for its own sake.

The third Order of the Franciscans and Dominicans originated in an awkward and cumbrous attempt to maintain, in the midst of a lay world, the influence of a monastic system still moving on medieval lines. The "up-to-date" Jesuit Order created in the Marian Congregations a marvellously pliable implement, which could be adapted to all circumstances, supplying it with the key to every home and carrying its spirit into all offices and positions. The Jesuits reject the notion of a "second" or "third" order; the Order insists that it stands alone, and has no connected or affiliated organisation; it declares proudly:

"The block of granite, the law of whose nature says 'Thus or not at all,' cannot be worked into a subordinate shape. An army corps, whose ranks must be closed like iron for the energy of its actions, and which yet must

* *Löffler*, p. 9.

play the part of a light flying column like the riders of the desert, must neither let itself be dissipated nor surrounded with unwieldy masses."

All this is true only according to the letter and the outward appearance. In truth and reality the Marian Congregations are affiliations and secondary formations, a second and third order, or whatever name we may give to the arm which, while organically connected with the Order, yet extends into all the affairs of social, civic, economic, industrial, and political life.

"For the purpose common to all, by the same law of organisation, and directed by the same guiding hand (that of the Jesuit Order), there were quickly established congregations among all classes, of the higher and lower clergy, the nobility, the official class, military, artistic, mercantile, middle class, artisans, sailors, fishermen, apprentices, servants, etc. The Tassos and Lambertinis, Fenélons and Bossuets, Lipsius and Rubens, Visconti and Farnese, Tilly and Turenne, Oliers and Eudes, Leopold and Juan of Austria, Emanuel of Savoy, and Sigismond of Sweden, Archdukes of Austria and Dukes of Bavaria, Cardinals of the Holy Church, as well as nuncios, bishops, and prelates, the Lord of the Holy Roman Empire, as well as its electors, margraves, and barons, piety and genius, the majesties of the throne and the glory of war, the forces of science and art and the horny hands of toil and labour, the children in and out of school, the powers of land and sea, the races of the rising and setting sun, of noonday and midnight—all were united under a single flag, a single law, a single name, in communities, conducted by a simple member of the Order."†

The "simple member of the Order" is in reality the Jesuit Order itself, which in Löffler's words claims to be "the ultimate aim of the Congregations."

* *Löffler*, p. 12. † *Ibid.*, p. 38.

"Reform of all classes and thus of the world," he writes; and elsewhere, "The aim in establishing the Congregation was to collect its members into an army which would range over every side of social life, which from the countless centres where it had been trained and where it could always seek for new strength, under their direction and impulse, could wisely and impressively pursue the Christian reformation of the separate social groups."*

Reformation, of course, on the lines of Roman Ultramontane universal dominion. How far-reaching was this attempt at reform, even on secular domains, we may learn from Löffler:—

"In Seville a congregation of lawyers undertook to reform the whole legal code."†

Not only in Seville, but in Germany, too, there is a "Catholic Lawyer's Union," and its members are for the most part Congreganists.

Some idea of the diffusion of the Congregations may be obtained from the numbers quoted by Löffler. At the time of the Suppression of the Order there were Congregations in over a hundred German towns, and in the individual towns as many as three to eight "Marian sodalities." "In twenty towns the number of the Congreganists far exceeded 60,000, of whom 36,000 belonged to the higher or learned classes, 18,000 to the married middle class, 6,000 bachelors, 4,000 students. To the three German provinces of the Order (Upper German, Upper Rhine, Lower Rhine) belonged at least 400,000, to Germany and Austria at least a million men and youths."‡ When the Order was restored in 1814 the Congregations were also resuscitated.

Further on Löffler writes: "We have seen them in

* Löffler, S.J., pp. 14 and 17. † *Ibid.*, p. 50.
‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 39 *et seq.*

our own Germany, and they have been allowed to show themselves flourishing their lists of names and works, all down the Rhine into Westphalia and southward into Swabia and Bavaria. In each town from three to six Congregations were established for men, young merchants, young artisans, apprentices, university men, technical students, and schoolboys. When the modern struggle with Rome, after an interval of scarcely twenty years, forcibly broke up the establishments of the Society of Jesus in Germany, a priesthood, zealous for the welfare of souls, grasped the abandoned rudder of the Congregations, and continued to steer it with equal skill and blessing. . . . The Society of Jesus rejoices at seeing the Congregations in the strong and capable hands of the German priesthood, which has acquitted itself so gloriously."*

But these hands are so strong and capable because they are the hands of the mighty Jesuit organisation. For, as Löffler himself says :—

" We find their main features sketched in the bulls of the Popes, especially of Gregory XIII. and Sixtus V. They assign the Congregations constitutionally to the chief direction of the general of the Society of Jesus for the time being, and give him plenary powers, and the duty of framing laws suited to conditions of time and place. . . . The Congregation is anchored to the apostolic Order of the Society of Jesus, and its Head has also been appointed by the See of Rome to be the legislative head of all the Marian Congregations."†

Thus a Jesuit himself, for many years a leader of Congregations, and speaking with knowledge, expressly asserts the dependence of all Marian Congregations on the " apostolic Order of the Society of Jesus." He uses

* Löffler, S.J., pp. 42 *et seq.*
† *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 11.

the terms "anchored" and "legislative head"; and it is important to notice that Löffler, in writing thus in 1884, had in his eyes the Congregations in Germany, which on account of the expulsion of the Jesuit Order were indeed outwardly under the direction of the German priesthood, "which has acquitted itself so gloriously." And in spite of this outward non-Jesuit direction, they are anchored to the Order and legally subject to it. Surely, then, there must be an indissoluble organic connection between the Congregations and the Society of Jesus. It is significant, too, that Löffler's view was published in the official Jesuit journal, *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, and for a special occasion, the tercentenary of the Congregations.

In the dispute as to the relation between the Congregation and the Jesuits, an attempt has been made to discredit as mere rhetorical panegyrics Löffler's statements as to the permanent dependence of the Congregations on the Society of Jesus. In particular the leader of the Centre, A. Bachem, speaking in the Prussian Lower House, emphasised the "Jubilee and festival character of the pamphlet." An original idea, surely, that a "festival document" may in rhetorical garb publish gross untruths. Nor is this excuse seriously meant; it is only invented as a way out of the difficulty. One of his brother members, Joseph Martin, in 1898—fourteen years later than Löffler—wrote a "presidential handbook of the Marian Congregations," which is neither a panegyric nor a festival pamphlet, but only a sober exposition of the nature and organisation of the Congregations. Yet we read:—

"Benedict XIV. in the Constitution *Laudabile Romanorum Pontificum* of the 15th of February, 1758, insisted that 'The Congreganists never had the right to draw up, prescribe, or publish decrees, statutes, rules, or constitutions, but that this right belonged solely to the General of the Society of Jesus, who could alter them according to his

pleasure, even without consultation with the Congreganists or their consent, and they must submit unconditionally to him and to the president appointed by him in all that concerns the direction of the Congregation. When the Bishop has approved and given his consent a request must be addressed to the R. P. General [of the Jesuits] to establish the Congregation and affiliate it [to the head Congregation in Rome]. The President of the Congregation is subject only to the highest direction of the General of the Society of Jesus for the time being, and he has the power, and it is his duty, in accordance with conditions of time and place, to make, alter, and repeal laws."*

It appears, then, that the sober Martin says exactly the same as the rhetorical Löffler. And Martin's assertions are especially worthy of consideration, because, as the Introduction states, they are based on the "written instructions of the late General of the Order, A. M. Anderledy," and were published with the express sanction of the Provincial of the German province (dated from Exaeten, the 25th of December, 1897).

My own experience of fourteen years within the Order confirms the statements of Löffler and Martin. The legal dependence of all Congregations on the Jesuit Order was taken as a matter about which there could be no doubt.

A personal experience may here be quoted. At one of the Cologne gymnasia the teacher of religion put some difficulties in the way of the Congregation. As it was a Marian Congregation which was in question, some of the pupils turned instinctively to the Jesuit College at Exaeten, and as Father Jacob Fäh, at that time vice-Rector, showed no hesitation in regarding the matter as within his competence as a Jesuit Superior, he must have been secure of the consent of the Provincial. In the end he sent me to

* Martin, *Präses-Büchlein der marianischen Kongregationen*, Ravenburg, 1898, pp. 11, *et seq.* 34, 39.

Cologne to arrange matters with the religious teacher. This shows that Congregations, even when directed by secular priests, are anchored to the Jesuit Order, which is and remains their legislative head.

In the year 1904, when the unaccountable permit of the Prussian Education Minister, Studt, restored the right of gymnasium pupils to take part in Marian Congregations, and a public discussion arose as to the connection between the Jesuit Order and the Congregations, the Ultramontane press and parliamentary leaders in the two Prussian Houses succeeded in wiping out the intimate connection between "Mother and Child," an expression which frequently occurs in Löffler. They were assisted by the unfortunate ignorance of the non-Ultramontane press and speakers. Above all, Kopp, the Cardinal and Prince-Bishop of Breslau, contrived in his speech in the Upper House on the 11th of May, 1904, to "prove" that the Congregations were entirely under the direction of the diocesan bishops, and not of the General of the Jesuit Order. The *pièce de résistance* of Kopp's speech was a quotation from the Jesuit General himself, which culminated in this statement:—

"The General of the Society of Jesus has not in his hands the direction of the Marian Congregations. As a matter of fact, they are not under his direction, nor in any way under the control of the Society of Jesus. This is a tribute to truth and should set men's minds at rest (Rome, 13th of April, 1904, Luiz Martin, General of the Society of Jesus)."*

This, of course, settled the matter, and men's minds were at rest. The world witnessed the piquant, if not pleasing, spectacle of an agreement between the Spanish Jesuit General and the Prussian Minister of Education as to the non-Jesuit character of the Marian Congregations,

* *Germania*, May 17, 1904.

an agreement announced to the Prussian Upper House by a Romish cardinal.

To this episode I must add a short but sharp epilogue, an *epilogus galeatus*. Rarely can a document have lied more shamelessly than the statement of the Jesuit General read by Kopp to the Upper House. And yet "lie" is not the right word. The moral theology of the Jesuit Order distinguishes sharply between a lie and *restrictio mentalis*. Untruth—lie? No—never! A "mental restriction," of course.

The statement by Martin, which Kopp, with or without knowing its true character, helped to spread, is nothing else than an untruth built up on mental restriction. It is only necessary to understand in their right sense the words used in the statement, "direction," "control," "as a matter of fact," "in his hands"—*i.e.* to complete them by mental additions, and the result is the absolute truth. The Marian Congregations, as a matter of fact, are often not under the outward direction of Jesuits, but actually their internal direction is, and remains subject to the General of the Order.

A weighty accusation. But, in view of the Papal bulls concerning the Marian Congregations, and all the documents emanating from the Order itself which treat of Congregations, such as the writings of Löffler and Martin, as well as the consciousness prevailing in the Order itself, the accusation is inevitable. Nor is it a serious one, regarded from the Ultramontane and Jesuit ethical standpoint, for this plainly teaches that mental restriction is permissible.

It may be, however, that the Jesuit General in the wording of his statement made use not of "mental restriction," but of another no less effectual and interesting expedient. His immediate predecessor, General Antonius Maria Anderledy, had shown the way. The historian of

the German Province, Father Joseph Esseiva, is my authority for what follows :—

When Anderledy was Superior of the newly founded Jesuit settlement at Cologne, in the beginning of the fifties, he got into difficulties with the authorities when it became known that at the Residence, as the settlements are designated, besides the direction of souls, arrangements were made for instructing the Jesuit scholastics in philosophy and theology. Now the Prussian law only permits private schools if sanctioned by the State. Anderledy, being summoned by the Government representative, categorically denied the existence of any such school, and spoke quite truthfully in so doing. For while speaking he, as Superior, formed the mental resolution that the school should cease to exist. To this tale Father Esseiva added the admiring comment, "*Quanta animi praesentia!*" His admiration was the more justified since, at the end of his interview with the official, Anderledy formed the opposite mental resolution that the school should be re-established.

An achievement possible to a simple Superior of a Residence could undoubtedly be accomplished by Martin as General; and it may be that while making his statement he, by a mental resolution, abolished the Jesuit direction of the Congregations, intending, as soon as the statement had effected its purpose, to restore it by a fresh mental resolution.

At the head of each Congregation is a board of direction, composed of the Prefect, two assistants, several consultants, according to the number of the Congreganists, and a secretary. The prefect and assistants are chosen by the Congreganists themselves, the consultants and secretary by the prefect and assistants. The actual direction of the Congregation is in the hands of the priestly president, without whose consent even the magisterial elections by the Congreganists are not valid. Löffler

excellently characterises the hidden but comprehensive power of the President :—

" The priestly director, the President, who appears to keep in the background away from the public life and activity, with wise moderation leaves to the board of direction the external representation of authority and scope for happy initiative. For himself he keeps the right and duty, if necessary, to supply the impulse and direction, and in any case the weight, value, and sanction."*

Every week the Congregation meets in some church or chapel for religious observances, such as sermon, song, and rosary. These gatherings, being of a religious character, ought of course to be attended voluntarily, yet even here there is supervision. The names of absent members are entered in a book or slate. And a Congreganist who leaves home is supposed to acquaint the President.†

The chief aim of a Congregation is " to lead a pure and pious life, by the special adoration of the Virgin." But far beyond this scope is the solemn vow which every Congreganist must swear by God and the gospel (*voveo ac juro, sic me Deus adjuvet et haec sancta Dei evangelia*), after reciting the Trent-Vatican creed :—

" I condemn, reject, and abhor all heresies which are condemned, rejected, and abhorred by the Church. I will see to it that the true Catholic Faith, without which no one can be saved, is maintained, taught, and proclaimed by my dependents, or anyone over whom my official capacity gives me the charge."

When we remember that this oath, with its expressed hatred of heresy and its proselytising aim for the " true Catholic Faith, without which no one can be saved," is uttered even by childish lips and afterwards repeated by

* Löffler, S.J., *Zur Jubelfeier der marianischen Kongregationen*, 5 Dez., 1584—5 Dez., 1884. From *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, Freiburg i. Br., 1884, p. 11.

† J. Frey, S.J., *Der gute Kongreganist*, pp. 22, 24.

youths and men of all classes and professions, it is easy to realise the impassable gulf between Congreganists and non-Catholic creeds, and to grasp the fact that the Congregations, with their extensive diffusion, form the greatest of all hindrances to religious peace. In fact, as the General Claudius Acquaviva expressed it, they form "a well-equipped army, to march against the many daring foes of salvation."*

Löffler openly names these "foes to salvation," and describes the constitution of the Marian army:—

"Furious battles raged around the cradle of the Marian Congregations. Heresy, the old storming column in the first ranks of hell, once more made the fiercest onset against the Blessed Virgin, as was done yesterday and before by its fathers, the Ebionites, Docetes, Gnostics, Manicheans, Albigenses, and Waldensians, Hussites, and Wycliffites, the whole immortal offspring of the serpent. Sprung from noble martial blood, the troop of young volunteers in 1564 rallied round the ancient standard of the Virgin. . . . They joined the old regiments, their heads bound with the blessing of Jacob on Benjamin: 'Benjamin shall ravin as a wolf; in the morning he shall devour the prey, and at night he shall divide the spoil.' This was the prophecy of the Congregations. That is why martial sounds still float around the altar, where the Congreganist dedicates himself to his Queen. On his lips lies the soldier's oath."†

To return to the Congregations in the Jesuit schools. They are intended to have an educational purpose. What is its character?

Rule 23 for the Rector in the *Ratio* prescribes:—

"He should endeavour to introduce the Congregation of the Annunciation from the Roman College into his

* Löffler, S.J., *Zur Jubelfeier der marianischen Kongregationen*, p. 18 *et seq.*
† *Ibid.*, p. 21.

own. Those who do not join it must be excluded from the Academy for literary exercises, except when the Rector himself should judge in the Lord that it is more expedient to act otherwise."

Though pious observances are only educational when voluntary, joining the Congregations, like other religious observances already mentioned, is compulsory. Those who do not join are excluded from the honourable position of Academy members. By this means a distinction is created between one pupil and another, which in daily practice leads to disgrace or honour. The Congreganists are pupils of the first rank, the non-Congreganists are of the second; in the eyes of their comrades a stain attaches to them. But why this compulsion to enter the Congregation, strengthened by the fear of disgrace? Is it because otherwise the pupil would not maintain and abide by the particular form of Marian worship which the Jesuits desire? Even ultramontane compulsion and Jesuit formalism would scarcely sanction this reason. No, the boy must enter the Congregation in order to become, as soon as possible, a member of the great army under the command of the Jesuit Order, whose soldiers and officers are to be found in all lands, in all stations, all professions, and whose mission is the reform of society according to a Jesuit ultramontane scheme.

At the same time the Congreganists constitute a supervising police force within the school.

Those who seek admission to the Congregation have to pass through a probationary period. It is the duty of the prefect, assistants, and consultants to watch the aspirant (or approband) during this period and acquaint the President with the result in regard to his conduct. But as nearly all pupils seek admission, since none wishes to be degraded, the system of supervision instituted by the Congregation extends to nearly the whole school.

I myself was first assistant and deputy-prefect in the Congregation of the First Division, and am, therefore, in a position to know what happened, and I can assert that the meetings of the direction board presided over by the President, gave detailed consideration to the moral conduct of the Congreganists and the other pupils who desired admission.

I am quite ready to admit that our pious aspirations were satisfied by the Congregations with their numerous religious observances, and that they supplied us with incentives to virtue. But it was a misdirected, extravagant piety, unhealthy, effeminate, sentimental. It was an adoration of Mary, out of all true relation to the place which the simple human Mother of God occupies in the Gospels. It was Marian mysticism and sensualism, such as unfortunately constitute an essential part of ultramontane, and especially Jesuit, Marian worship.

Thus we find Löffler extolling as exemplary the eccentric fruits of Congregational piety.

"We learn from history that among the sodalists (congreganists) Aloysius and Benedictus have once more come to life. To protect the angelic virtue of chastity, they refrain from drinking on Fridays, throw themselves into ice or thorn-bushes, sleep on straw, planks, stones, juniper twigs. . . . An admirer of his own beauty seeks an antidote by visiting the churchyard, and taking skulls and bones from the mortuary, kisses them, and then scourges himself till the blood comes. In the merry carnival days the students of Ingolstadt organise a procession; they enter all the churches and pass through all the streets headed by the cross, while their backs are lacerated by the scourge."*

Such gross excrescences did not occur at Feldkirch, though there ascetic practices prevailed hardly consistent

* Löffler, S.J., *Zur Jubelfeier der marianischen Kongregationen*, 5 Dez., 1584—5 Dez., 1884. From *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, Freiburg i. Br., 1884, pp. 46, 49.

with healthy educational methods, even when these are based on religion. Instead of rising at five, we would get up at four "in honour of Mary"; in her honour we renounced the little relish of fruit or chocolate with our dry ten or four o'clock bread, went without gloves in the bitter cold of winter, or refrained from drawing the flaps of the caps over our ears; the President or Confessor dropped allusions to instruments of penance such as scourges and penitentiary girdles, "to mortify the unclean flesh," and the Congreganist of fourteen or fifteen, "in honour of Mary," at least expressed his yearning for such things, though it is not probable that this was satisfied.

One uniform trait manifested itself through the whole of the Marian congregational piety and discipline—the fear of breaking the Seventh Commandment. But this emphasising of sexual things is surely a grievous educational error.

I look back on my Congreganist years without remorse or shame. All I did then was done in the honest religious enthusiasm of a boy. And doubtless this was the case with most of the others. But if we subtract the subjective and relative value, the objective and absolute result is a complete lack of value for purposes of education and piety. Still it remains, and it cannot be sufficiently insisted that this is the real end of the Congregations, as a well-trained fanatical and eccentric auxiliary lay force of the Society of Jesus.

I cannot close my account of the Congregations without alluding to the Jesuit peculiarity which, while among the most prominent, is, from the Christian point of view, one of the most objectionable—its boastfulness, self-adulation, and concentrated pride.

To obtain the full impression of the conceit manifested in Löffler's treatise in commemoration of the Marian Congregations, it would be necessary to read the whole.

But a few passages may serve as samples. I have already quoted those in which he designates the Jesuit Order as a block of granite. Here is what follows:

"It was in a fateful hour that God sent His Church a new auxiliary force in the Society of Jesus. . . . Everywhere the new weapons inflicted grievous wounds on heresy, protected and rescued existing property, and on the roads opened out by Columbus, Cortez, Vasco da Gama, won immense compensation in East, West, and South for great losses elsewhere. On the parent continent there arose, raised by the hands of kings and peoples, universities, colleges, and pulpits; like its Divine Master, the Order had walked on the sea, expelled legions of devils, and called the dead to life, the people in their thousands harkened to it in the deserts and on the mountains of Asia, America, and in the streets and temples of Europe; and within the peaceful walls of one of its colleges that sweet scene once witnessed by Judea was re-enacted. For the Society which inherited the work as well as the name of Christ laid a hand full of creative grace on the fair foreheads of children, and founded the first Congregation."*

The parallel of the work of Christ with that of the Order is complete, and those who know the Catholic doctrine of the metaphysical divinity of Christ will be able to appreciate the arrogance with which it transcends the domain of humanity. Jesuit pride does not shrink even from the extremest position. As Christ, the Godhead, laid a hand of creative grace on the children, so the Jesuit Order lays its hand of creative grace on the Congreganists. Here, too, it is impossible to grasp the full meaning of the comparison without a comprehension of the Catholic dogma of the sublimity and divinity of "creative grace."

* Löffler, S.J., *Zur Jubelfeier der marianischen Kongregationen*, 5 Dez., 1584—5 Dez., 1884. From *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, Freiburg i. Br., 1884, p. 1.

An excellent and faithful picture of Jesuit education, especially of the pious practices in which the pupils are trained and the compulsion and supervision which prevail in Jesuit schools, is afforded by the daily routine of one of these establishments, taken by Kluckhohn from a MS. in the Royal State Library of Bavaria.* I add a few extracts to conclude my own account of Jesuit education:

"When all this has been done, he, or if several are present, all the pupils, kneel down before the little altar, or some devotional picture, and begin to recite the morning prayer aloud, not hastily, but every word clearly enunciated. After this they pray the *Angelus Domini*, because the angelus bell has sounded early, before they were awake. Next they pray the *Formulam votivam, Sancta Maria, Mater Dei et Virgo*, and finally the most profitable and estimable *Exercitium spirituale* of Pope Alexander VII., taken from the above-quoted *leges marianae*. . . . At the end of every study period he is to kneel down as before, and with outstretched hands, reiterate thanks to God. . . . Before he leaves the house he must sprinkle himself with holy water and make the sign of the Cross. On this account, whenever there are two doors to a class-room, it would be well if a vessel with holy water were placed near each, in order that this holy and profitable custom may never be neglected. . . . If the angelus bell should sound while he is on the way home, he should kneel down in the street, raise his hands and publicly and reverently recite the angelus prayer. After the *examen conscientiae* and the evening prayer, to which a quarter of an hour should be given, he should sprinkle himself and his bed with holy water, and undress quietly behind the curtain. . . . As soon as he lies down he should trace on his forehead the four letters,

* Kluckhohn, *Abhandlungen der historischen Klasse der kgl. bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, XIII., 3, 216–229.

J N R J, which signify *Jesus Nazarenus, rex Judaeorum.* And in similar fashion he may also write the holy names of Mary and Joseph. He should then hang round his neck a rosary, which should always be kept for this purpose in his bed along with a crucifix, in honour of the Mother of God, and then take the crucifix, kiss the five sacred wounds and keeping it in his hand, cross his arms on his breast and fall asleep with good thoughts in his mind. If he cannot at once go to sleep, he should not spend the time in foolish thoughts, but should pray for the suffering souls in purgatory, or meditate on death, the last judgment, his death-hour or hell. . . . Much less must he hold any converse with others when he lies in bed, for such talk drives away good thoughts and gives great satisfaction to the evil one, who desires nothing better. . . . It is customary, too, especially on Fridays, to inquire at school whether all the boys are provided with a holy rosary and breviary, and especially whether they wear an *Agnus Dei* round their necks. A pious student should not be content with having only a scapular, or a girdle of St. Francis or St. Monica to show, or an indulgence penny of St. Michael, for although it is laudable and right to wear such, yet all these sacred objects do not amount to an *Agnus Dei,* fashioned out of wax blessed by His pontifical Holiness, and a zealous student should be careful to wear this day and night on his neck or breast, if he desires to be delivered from countless dangers to soul and body. . . . A youth who studies in a Gymnasium of the Society of Jesus should have no other confessor than a member of the Society, therefore grievous suspicion falls on those boys who needlessly resort to other confessors, when they have opportunity enough to confess to their appointed confessors. . . . The best plan is for a boy, while still in the lowest class, to ask his spiritual father to prescribe how often he is to confess and communicate. The con-

fession certificate should be handed by a pious student to his confessor after every confession. . . . If he confesses of his own accord, it pleases his Superiors if he hands in the certificate then too; for on many accounts they desire to know how often a boy confesses, even when not compelled to do so. . . . If one boy or several living together in a house have a separate study, they cannot always be trusted, but it may be feared that, being separated from the others, they may not study much, but spend their time in idleness and play. It is necessary, therefore, that the parents or house-masters should occasionally inspect them. For this purpose a little hole may be bored in the door of the study and a nail let in from outside or a bolt placed there, so that it may be possible to look in from without but not outward from the inside."*

That this Daily Routine actually reproduces the life of Jesuit schools is proved by a manuscript in the Bavarian archives written by a Jesuit, and also published by Kluckhohn, in which the writer reckons among the abuses in the institutions of his Order an excess of pious observances:

"It had become the custom for the pupils to kneel down at the sound of the bell, in the middle of a lesson, and pray, either softly or aloud, while in former times the prayer at the beginning of school sufficed. The pupils were also bidden, whenever they repeated a lesson, gave an explanation or any other answer, to make the sign of the Cross, and say aloud: 'In the Name of God,' etc. Disputations were to begin with this question: 'How

* Duhr, in his previously quoted work, *Die Studienordnung der Gesellschaft Jesu*, p. 32, note, tries to remove the impression left by this Daily Routine by the assertion that it "was not approved by the authorities." There is no shadow of proof for such an assertion. Or would Duhr seriously maintain that because this Daily Routine was not printed it lacked the sanction of the authorities? Must everything that each Jesuit notes down in writing, often only for his own private use, be put into print?

must we begin ? ' and the opponent answers : ' With the sign of the Cross, in the name of the Father,' etc. ' Have you your rosary ? ' is the next question ; and a boy who is without one is reprimanded. Next follows a question from the Catechism, and only then do they proceed to the scholastic questions."*

The spirit of the Jesuit institutions to this day resembles that described in the Daily Routine.

CRITICISMS OF THE JESUIT SYSTEMS OF INSTRUCTION AND EDUCATION

In dealing with its own systems of instruction and education, the Jesuit Order has sounded the trumpet of praise so effectively that many a hostile wall has fallen before its challenge. Everything published on the subject by the Order itself shines with almost unalloyed brightness. In particular Pachtler and Duhr have piled up the eulogium of the Order, in the *Monumenta Germaniae paedagogica* and in Duhr's pamphlet, " *Die Studienordnung der Gesellschaft Jesu.*"

To these deceptive descriptions I intend to oppose judgments which must be accounted of the first rank, and which have the greater weight because, for the most part, they have been uttered by warm friends of the Order. For surely we must count as such its own Provincials and General Superiors. The passages quoted are taken from letters by these high dignitaries of the Order, deposited in the Vienna Library. They throw a very gloomy light on the Jesuit educational system, a light which the Order has never drawn from its obscurity among the files of Viennese documents. It was left to Professor Johann Kelle, of Prague, to remove it from under the bushel.†

* *Die Jesuiten in Bayern. Sybel's historische Zeitschrift*, 1874, vol. 31, p. 398.
† Kelle, "*Die Jesuitengymnasien in Oesterreich*, Munich, 1876.

"I will touch on another point of no less importance, as it is my earnest desire that the zeal for knowledge should revive in our schools. Not a few complaints have reached us from various quarters of the diminution of this zeal; and this grieves me the more as our Constitutions recommend zeal in the promotion of knowledge, and this duty, peculiar to our Society, should be maintained in full vigour."*

"In this (the study and teaching of Rhetoric) our teachers and scholars are severely criticised by persons outside our Order, either because the zeal for this excellent branch of knowledge is lacking, or at any rate diminishing, or because the wrong methods for teaching it are adopted."†

"The Rectors of some of the boarding-schools do not take sufficient care and trouble in regard to the right training of youth in piety and knowledge. The same complaint is made, too, in regard to the teachers of the lower classes at very many of our settlements; reports reach us from these that no School Prefect is appointed, and in consequence there is no proper order or instruction."‡

"The greater the dangers to which our schools are exposed at the present time, the more am I grieved by the almost universal complaint as to the small amount of care given to the promotion of knowledge in this province. No satisfactory account of the work of our members reaches us; there is no zeal for teaching or learning, the superintendents neglect this part of their duty completely. The result is that lectures and study are only carried on as a pretence, and all else which is required of us at the present day in the useful education of youth is shamefully neglected and left on one side, because the School Prefects despise it. If your Reverence cannot improve matters (and I implore you to do so), we shall be threatened by great dangers."§

"Another point concerns the studies. Not only is the care

* Letter of the Provincial, Francis Retz, of Nov. 21st, 1724. Vienna Court Lib., Codex No. 12,029, p. 136.

† Letter of the Polish Provincial, of September 10th, 1741, V.C.L., Codex No. 12,025, p. 240.

‡ Letter of the Polish Provincial, of July 3rd, 1756, V.C.L., No. 12,025, p. 258.

§ Letter of the Polish Provincial, of June 29th, 1766, V.C.L., No. 12,025, p. 225b.

devoted to humanistic studies very inadequate in many cases, but it is not regarded with due respect, partly owing to the slackness and want of experience of the teachers, and partly through the idleness of the pupils, some of whom come to the schools solely with the contemptible intention of spending their lives begging through the streets, and so becoming a burden to the towns and bringing credit to nobody. At other places ignorant pupils, who, owing to the carelessness of the teachers of the lower classes, have made but little progress, are admitted to the higher classes through the personal liking and consideration of the teachers, with the only result of making a parade of their barbarous and ignorant Latin. All respect for more serious branches of knowledge is lost, because the best men are passed over, and those who are appointed as *magistri* and *doctores* are but little versed in such knowledge."*

"Our Very Venerable Father demands from our professors greater zeal and industry in the instruction of the young people committed to our care. Many and just complaints are brought against us by persons outside the Order, that our schools and their professors have lost much of their original zeal in instructing youth in knowledge and piety, to such an extent, indeed, that many persons leave our schools with inferior knowledge and less virtue than when they entered. This is, for the most part, the fault of the Prefects of Studies, who give a superficial attention to their duties, and fail to inform their Superior of the neglect of the professors, being more concerned for the reputation of the individual than that of the whole Order."†

"And if this industry is at all times necessary, it is even more so in our day, because the taste for knowledge has everywhere become sharper and keener, and the number of such schools [for external students] has increased so much that our schools appear less needed. For the fact cannot be hidden that, for a long time there were scarcely any Latin schools except ours—or, at any rate, so few that the parents were obliged against their will to send

* Letter of the General Charles de Noyelle, of March 27th, 1683, V.C.L., No. 12,029, p. 57.

† Letter of the Provincial, Ladislaus Zottowski, of September 14th, 1737, acquainting the Rector with the contents of a letter from the General Francis Retz, V.C.L., No. 16,620, p. 19.

their children to us. But now there are in many places many schools which rival ours, and there is a danger that they may be strengthened while the numbers in ours decrease and their reputation wanes."*

"Our Very Venerable Father expresses his bitter grief at the fact that in various parts of our province the teachers of the higher, as well as of the lower classes, are so little suited for their positions."†

"The teachers of the humanistic branches do not devote themselves with sufficient industry to these studies, and in particular they take no pains with Greek; indeed, there are among them those who, to the great satisfaction of non-Catholics, cannot even read Greek correctly."‡

"In regard to studies our Father notes the lack of industry in the teachers, who, to the injury of our reputation for piety and knowledge, neglect to instruct the young people with suitable ardour."§

"The laxity and indolence of some of the teachers in acquiring a knowledge of literature themselves, and imparting it to their pupils, often gives rise to well-founded complaints."‖

"Some remedy must be found for the neglect of the teachers in instructing the young people in knowledge and Christian habits. I am deeply grieved to hear that it is said in the Kingdom that the scholars of other Orders make far better progress than ours."¶

"The teachers of the humanities are in some places very indolent and sleepy; they give the boys no effective direction in moral rectitude and outward modesty."**

The complaint here made by the Provincials and Generals of the decay of humanistic studies touches an old

* Letter of the General Vicecomes, of July 22nd, 1752, V.C.L., No. 12,025, B. 44.

† Letter of the Polish Provincial, of June 27th, 1745, V.C.L., No. 12,025, B. 40.

‡ Letter of the Bohemian Provincial, Jac. Stessl, of July 8th, 1708, V.C.L., No. 12,029, p. 114.

§ Letter of the Polish Provincial, of September 15th, 1715, V.C.L., No. 12,025, p. 181.

‖ Letter of the Bohemian Provincial, John Roller, of April 28th, 1740, V.C.L. No. 12,029, p. 179*n*.

¶ Letter of the Polish Provincial, of September 10th, 1741, V.C.L., No. 12,021, p. 239.

** Letter of the Bohemian Provincial of January 1st, 1770, V.C.L., No.11,951, p. 826.

fault of the Order. The very first draft of the *Ratio Studiorum* in 1586 contains this characteristic passage :—

"It is a general cause of lament that these [humanistic] studies have so largely fallen into decay among our members, so that nothing is rarer or harder to find than a good grammarian, rhetorician, or humanist."*

And the base of all the trouble, the source of the many faults in instruction and education, is designated by the letters in the Vienna Library as the disgraceful lack of manners—or rather of morals—among the teachers themselves.

"It is a shameful thing to have to state in a letter that which every honourable man, and, above all, the member of an Order, is compelled by his conscience and reason to shun. But since this abuse has taken root in our province, that not a few persons are guilty of excess in drinking, this has given rise to blame and scandal outside the Order, to the great injury of our reputation, while the many solemn prohibitions and prescribed punishments have been of no avail."†

"Feasts are celebrated in the sleeping apartments, at which secret drinking is rife among our members. . . . Also our members visit the houses of secular persons outside the permitted seasons, in order there to eat and drink, and not infrequently they return thence full of drink (*crapulati*)."‡

"These secret drinking bouts have become such a regular practice that scarcely one of our settlements is quite free from persons guilty of this vice."§

It is not surprising that such letters bear the direction "Not for publication." But the public, which is systematically and in the most crafty fashion deceived by

* *Monum. Germ. paed.*, 5, 144.

† Letter of the Polish Provincial, V.C.L., No. 12,025, p. 237.

‡ Letter of the Bohemian Provincial, Ferd. Waldthauser, of August 13th, 1702, V.C.L., No. 12,029, p. 99.

§ Letter of the Provincial, Reinhold Gertt, of September 15th, 1715, V.C.L., No. 13,620, p. 7.

Jesuit writers as to the inner conditions of the Order, has a special interest in hearing these criticisms pronounced by men who certainly cannot be called foes to the Order.*

If we could search the secret archives of the other provinces we should find confessions similar to those here quoted in regard to the Austrian, Bohemian and Polish. A fortunate accident—the suppression of the Order in 1773—brought some of the archives of the Order into public collections at Vienna, Munich and other places. There are stored treasuries of truth in regard to the Jesuit Order and the true character of its nature and work. And they must be drawn forth from their hiding-place in order to refute the untruths of the Jesuit historians.

Nor should there be any delay. For Kelle has discovered that the Order is trying to do away with the accusatory documents of its own secret archives, which are now in the possession of the State. Others, too, have had a similar experience; Mommsen himself informed me that he was cognisant of attempts of the sort; and I myself heard Father Jacob Ratgeb, Provincial of the German Province, say that the documents seized by the Government on the suppression of the Society of Jesus, and stored in various libraries, were still the property of the Society, and their secret removal from the State archives and libraries and restoration to the Jesuit Order could not be regarded as an act of theft. Therefore, it behoves those who are in charge to be on their guard.

Another piece of evidence comes from the sixteenth century. One of the leading Jesuit schoolmen of that time was Jacob Pontan (Spanmüller). The estimation in which he was held may be judged from the fact that he

* Ebner has composed a whole book about these letters, "*Offizielle ungedruckte Briefe von Jesuiten-Generalen und Provinzialen und Missbrauch derselben*" (Innsbruck, 1883), which, however, contains little beyond vulgar abuse of Kelle, written in abominable German.

was appointed a member of the "Commission of Studies in Germany," instituted by General Claudius Acquaviva. Pontan drew up "Suggestions for the conduct of humanistic studies within the Society of Jesus in accordance with the *Ratio Studiorum*"; and since these proposals were not intended for publication, he shows no scruples in revealing the abuses of the Jesuit system of instruction.

"The masters are frequently without ability; they waste time, they only study when and as much as they please, and they do not want to continue teaching for any length of time. And even if any of them would like to progress and continue the work of teaching, they are sent away, and new teachers are introduced every year. . . . In a single year, regardless of the fact that the scholastics have advanced but a little way in their studies, that they have hitherto learnt scarcely any Greek (so that most of them do not even know the alphabet), that they cannot make Latin verses, and during their novitiate have never looked at a book, they are expected every day to attend three separate lectures, repeat, learn by heart, and make abstracts of four different kinds in Greek, Latin, verse and prose. Those who imagine that all this can be done in one year bear testimony to their own ignorance and lack of judgment. Unless some alteration is made and these obstacles removed by compulsion, there is an end to our advancement in knowledge and our reputation. . . . In this regard a serious hindrance is due to the fact that the Superiors have no great zeal for study. Nor is this surprising. They themselves have received the same instruction as our scholastics now receive. . . . Their study of Greek is cursory; as for Latin, their lips have scarce come near it. And yet it is they who have to decide on the subject and manner of teaching, and to judge of the teachers, their ability and progress. A great deal is left to the Prefects, who are themselves too uncultivated to preside over the schools or direct and improve the teachers. But as even the Superiors lack this knowledge, the Prefects of Studies certainly cannot excel, since they are scholastics who have been removed from their studies prematurely. . . . Since the teachers do not, as the rule prescribes, stand a stage above their class, but two or three stages below, what prospect can there

be of keeping pace with the schools outside the Order ? Physician, heal thyself ! . . . One of the hindrances to the humanistic studies of our members is the plan of keeping the scholastics, after leaving the novitiate, for one year only in the Humanity Class, some not even as long. The reason alleged is that, before entering the Society they have already studied the humanities for two years, and therefore the time allowed is sufficient for progress. But matters stand quite differently. In Greek no foundations have been laid, their Latin verse is full of blunders, they write abominably. . . . These inadequately instructed scholastics become incapable teachers . . . they produce unlearned Superiors, ignorant of all humanistic knowledge, not a few of whom cannot even write a grammatical letter, as well as unlearned Prefects of Studies ; and all in our Society who lack learning—and these are a countless number—owe their defect to these two causes. . . . Then there is another no small obstacle to learning—the absolute freedom of the teachers in the matter of their own private studies, and their constant change. Everyone is permitted to read what he pleases, to study as much as he pleases, and even when he pleases. It is sufficient that he is a teacher. The Rector and Prefect of Studies are not greatly concerned about the manner of his teaching ; they do not correct those who make mistakes, nor encourage anyone to adopt the right method. Most of them write Latin very seldom and badly. And while we drift along carelessly and continue every year to have fresh teachers and pupils, our schools are getting worse and worse. Before the masters have begun to teach they receive their orders to stop. What respect and what experience can such teachers have ? Why are we not ashamed of our folly ? There is no city that changes its executioner or hangman once a year, and we believe that this constant fluctuation is good for study."*

* *Anti-Mangoldus sive Vindiciae Historiae eccles. Claudii Fleury*, Amstelodami et Ulmae, 1784, ii., 89–94. Pachtler and Duhr carefully suppress Pontan's criticism, although in their four volumes of contributions to the *Monumenta Germaniae paedagogica* they have collected the most possible and impossible material about the Jesuit system of instruction. Their lack of honesty in this respect is the more reprehensible because they make laudatory mention of Pontan (16, 14), and enumerate all his other writings and everything that favours the Jesuit instruction. They also pass over, as though non-existent, the important letters from Rectors, Provincials and General Superiors of the Order from which I have quoted above.

To these criticisms from within the Order I may add others, and in the first place that of the Austrian historian, Joseph Alexander, Baron von Helfert, himself very friendly to the Jesuits. Treating of Cornova's defence of the Jesuit system of Education, he sums up :—

"However much we may learn from it to admire the relation of the individual members to the whole body, however skilfully, nobly, and at times even humorously he refutes and sets in their true light the absurd and even crafty accusations brought against the Society, yet an impartial perusal of the book shows his failure to disprove completely any of the reproaches brought by the most far-seeing and weighty men of their time against the degenerate Jesuit systems of teaching and education. We always retain the impression that the Society understood very well in its own interests how to arouse and hold the love and devotion of all who were drawn within the circle of its influence, but showed a most inexcusable disregard of any desire to adapt itself to the changed needs of the times in the interests of the young people and the classes of the community who entrusted them to its charge."*

A little further on Helfert utters an even more comprehensive condemnation :—

"The system of instruction and education of the Jesuits of the eighteenth century (unchanged, indeed, to this day !) was such as was no longer fitted for the eighteenth century. We are familiar with the commonplace, expressed soon after the suppression of the Order 'even by its enemies,' that undoubtedly the Jesuits had been the most excellent teachers and educators. All the evidence seems to make this extremely doubtful. We must not lay too much weight on the scanty gleanings of a few decades later illumined by

Such "scholarly conscientiousness" makes us extremely mistrustful of the documents and secret archives published by them. How many expurgations may these not have undergone ? Yet Pachtler, in the preface to Vol. I. of his publications on the Jesuit system of instruction (*M.G.P.* 2, XI.) says: "All the collaborators of the *M.G.P.* desire only justice and truth. . . . It is just here that truth is at stake." I agree.

* *Die Gründung der Oesterreichischen Volksschule durch Maria Theresia*, Prague, 1860, p. 278.

the softening light of memory. Rather should we have regard to the courageous utterances of weighty men under the immediate impression of the facts. If the reproach can be brought against a system of education that in the mid-current of a period of change and movement in all directions it is concerned almost exclusively with a dead language, and teaches even this in a fashion far removed from any real comprehension of the subject dealt with; and if an educational system can be charged with setting unnatural barriers to natural ability, enchaining the expression of the will, in such a way that the pupils, as soon as the barriers have fallen and the chains are removed, are ready to succumb uncurbed to any chance influence, no matter how bad, it is surely no light accusation. . . . While all around them the age-long deification of Aristotle had yielded to the attainments of later research, they in their colleges still clung fast to the utterances of the Stagyrite, considering Gassendi and Des Cartes scarcely worthy of mention, while the name of Newton never passed their lips. While the gladiatorial arts of scholastic word-fights had long ago made way for a methodical investigation of the true nature of things, they continued to practise the wits and readiness of their scholars on the solution of intricate problems that no one any longer raised, and the attack and defence of artificial systems on which no one any longer set a value. To their own great loss they closed their eyes to the requirements of the day, and with consistent anachronism they held to dogmas and instructions first given under entirely different circumstances to their earliest colleges a hundred and twenty years before."*

In an answer sent by the Bavarian Government to a manifesto of the Jesuits on the 30th of October, 1769, protesting against certain Government ordinances, we read:—

". . . Among us the chief labours of the Jesuits are concerned with the lower schools, and we see that these are staffed not with tried and experienced men, but with mere youths. . . . We should

* *Die Gründung der oesterreichischen Volksschule durch Maria Theresia*, Prague, 1860, pp. 279–283.

indeed be satisfied if our children even learnt German from them, or, rather, did not completely unlearn it, for then it would at any rate not be necessary to send pupils who had finished their academy course to the writing-school to learn to write a passable German abstract in letters and legal essays, which boys and girls in Protestant schools can do at the age of eleven or twelve."*

In considering this criticism we must remember that it is delivered by the authority entrusted with the supervision of the schools, and that it strikes the balance of more than a hundred and fifty years' work in the schools of Bavaria.

Very much to the point, too, are the remarks of Count Pergen, who is thoroughly acquainted with his subject, and on that account detested by the Jesuits :—

" Although it is certain that there are among the members of the Order, as well as elsewhere, many men worthy of respect, endowed with intelligence, honesty and true piety, yet experience has shown that the communities were never willing to depart from antiquated methods, only endurable at best at the time of their origin, or from their old text-books and their narrow circle of instruction. Even if in recent times instructions from Government that could not be evaded, or the greater enlightenment of the age and the irresistible example of other countries, have compelled them against their will to this or that reform, it was only an apparent and therefore incomplete improvement, which bears only too evident testimony to the lack of understanding how to penetrate to the root of the evil, and the injury done to their system and constitution by any such innovation. . . . The State will never succeed in extinguishing in an Order the *esprit de corps* which is in every respect so injurious to a school system and so remote from the sphere of all external power and authority, and producing a state of things in which each loves duty for his own sake, and regards as the sole aim of his school labours the true advantage of his fatherland and the nearest possible approach to the desires of the

* From a codex in the Munich State Archives, from Zirngiebl, *Studien über das Institut der Gesellschaft Jesu*, Leipzig, 1870, p. 44, *et seq.*

lord of the land, and fulfils his duties joyfully in his service with the purest intentions."*

All the faults of the Jesuit system emphasised by me are here briefly summarised. The agreement between the Austrian statesman, so well acquainted with the Jesuit schools, and myself is the more worthy of note that we were both Jesuit pupils, Count Pergen in the eighteenth century, and I in the nineteenth. Another proof of the Order's fidelity to its motto, though intended in a different sense —*Semper idem.*

Taking everything into consideration, then, there is surely no exaggeration in the official report of the Austrian direction *in publicis et cameralibus* of the 21st of February, 1750, on the gymnasiums and other educational establishments conducted by Jesuits :—

"That the public complains greatly that little regard is paid to good manners and cleanliness, but that boys are led astray by one another, and therefore many parents are compelled to have their children instructed at home under their own supervision, in spite of the greater expense."†

* *Immediat-Vortrag an die Kaiserin Maria Theresia vom* 26 *August,* 1770, from Helfert, *Die Gründung der oesterreichischen Volksschule durch Maria Theresia,* Prague, 1860, p. 204.

† From Kelle, *Die Jesuitengymnasien in Oesterreich,* p. 75.

CHAPTER VI

PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF FELDKIRCH

One damp, gloomy October morning in 1861, at the Cologne railway station I was handed over to the charge of the Jesuits, who came there every year to collect the Rhenish and Westphalian pupils and escort them to Feldkirch.

It was an act of cruelty on the part of my excellent parents to send a little boy of nine out into the world, far from his home and family, and from all motherly and womanly influence. It was not their natural and human feelings which prompted them, but the Ultramontane Jesuit influence which, as I have already shown, could not be brought too early into a child's life.

The "Feldkirch train," which usually carried about a hundred pupils with five or six Jesuits in charge, left Cologne at six in the morning. By eleven at night—in those days of slow travelling—we had reached Friedrichshafen by way of Mayence, Heidelberg, Stuttgart, and Ulm. Next day we proceeded by Rorschach to Oberrieth on the Rhine, and from that point in open carts to Feldkirch. Sometimes we went by Bregenz, but not often, as it involved too long a drive. It was not till after my time that the train came to Feldkirch. The whole of this long road was watered by my childish tears. I suffered terribly from home-sickness, even as the years went on. Whenever we crossed over the youthful Rhine at Oberrieth or Haag in Switzerland, I threw pieces of wood into the foaming stream in the ardent hope that they might float down to Cologne, Düsseldorf, or Wesel.

To my childish mind it was a melancholy consolation to imagine that they would be carried past places not far from my own home.

This home-sickness lasted for days—even weeks. I still remember gratefully the kind attempts of my Jesuit teachers to console the sorrowful child. Once, when I could not get over the pain of separation, I received a telegram from my father: "Be glad you are away. Here foot and mouth disease." The effect of this joke was heightened by the thought that it was my serious, dignified father who made it. Laughter came to my aid and drove melancholy away.

But it was the regular mode of life and systematic work that proved the best remedies for these melancholy moods. Indeed, the value of a fixed daily routine and systematic occupation in the case of mental and spiritual troubles is hard to over-estimate. Even as a child at Feldkirch I learnt the truth of this from my own experience, and in all the grievous conflicts of my after-life I had resort to this remedy.

At that time the Rector was a French Swiss, Father Minoux, and the General Prefect a French Alsatian, Father Faller. My Prefects in the third division were the Scholastics, Ruckgaber and Mutter; my class teacher in the first form (sixth class) was the Scholastic, Knappmeyer.

The most important event of my first year at Feldkirch (1861–62) was my first Communion. As a rule, children are not admitted to Communion till the age of thirteen or fourteen; but I was such a "good child" that both Father Minoux and Father Faller approved my early admission.

Those of us who were "first communicants" were prepared for the great event by catechetical instruction extending over several weeks, which was given by Father

Faller. For the day of the first Communion is indeed a great day for a pious Catholic child. To partake for the first time of his God and Lord, truly and in essence, body and soul, flesh and blood, God and Man, in the consecrated host, what greater, loftier, more terrible thought can the religious imagination conceive!

My childish heart was grievously torn between its grandeur, sublimity, and fearfulness. It was fear that kept the upperhand. I shook and trembled when the wafer was laid on my tongue, for I was tortured by the fear of not being "worthy." And oh! how I longed to be worthy!

Of course, the first Communion was preceded by a "General Confession." For such confession there is no authority in the Bible, even in its Catholic interpretation, nor yet in the Church's dogmatic teaching on confession. It is a disciplinary means to piety, the effect of which, doubtless desired by the hierarchy, is to bring the penitent into ever closer dependence on his Father Confessor, and through him on the Church.

These general confessions extend either over a whole lifetime or one of its divisions, and conclude all former confessions of that period. They thus constitute a repetition of other confessions. The object of the repetition is to bring peace to the penitent; if he has erred in any particular, which is essential for its validity and efficacy in securing the forgiveness of sins (I refer to conscience-searching, confession of sin, penitence, intention, penance), the general confession can atone for it. But in reality these general confessions are a source of trouble. The searchings among the past, such questions as: Did I always examine my conscience sufficiently before confession? did I always confess my deadly sins quite accurately in detail and in number? did I always feel real remorse and real desire to amend? pierce the soul with the stings of

doubt and fear. In mine they remained fixed ever after the general confession that preceded my first Communion. It was only some decades later, when I came to recognise the general falsity of the dogma of confession, that peace was restored to my soul—a peace of death, indeed, since the recognition of this and other similar facts led me to carry my old faith to the grave.

To the fear of unworthiness through invalid or unworthy confessions was added the fear of the sacrament itself, of the "real and true flesh and blood," of receiving into my own body the humanity and divinity of Christ.

The crudely sensuous and capernaitic interpretation of the words of Christ, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink his blood, ye have no life in you" (John vi. 53), expressed in the answer, "This is an hard saying; who can hear it?" (John vi. 60), has become a dogma of the Romish Church, and the explanatory words of Christ Himself, "It is the Spirit that quickeneth . . . the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life" (John vi. 63), have been completely thrust on one side by the Catholic doctrine of the "real presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar," and interpreted with a sort of anthropophagic brutality.

Brutal it surely is to institute theological disquisitions as to the presence of the foreskin in the bodily presence of Christ in the consecrated wafer, though Christ as a Jewish child had undergone circumcision. No elevation of this dogma "beyond the comprehension and understanding of the human mind," no allusion to the "glorified" body and blood of Christ can make such unnatural doctrines tolerable. The real blood and the real flesh, the real body with all its members, bones, and parts, literally "with skin and hair," is eaten at the Communion (*manducare*). Nor is it made more tolerable by the mass of miracles which must be swallowed along with it in order

to preserve the " real " body of Christ from being chewed by the teeth and digested by natural processes.

Of course, I did not know all this at the age of nine. But even as children we were taught in our Communion lessons " the dogma of the true and bodily presence of Christ as He dwelt, ate, and drank with His disciples after the Resurrection." And though I lacked the detailed comprehension of the presence of Christ in the host, the idea of partaking of His real flesh and blood was to me something terrible, a *tremendum mysterium* which filled my youthful spirit with terror and curiosity, torment and desire. I told my troubles, as well as a child can, to Father Joller, my confessor, and in the general confession before the first Communion to our Exercise-Master, Father Faller. They gave me encouragement, but could not set my mind at rest.

Even to this day I look back with the deepest sadness to the outward splendours of the day of my first Communion, the 21st of June, 1862. All my inward piety—and it was because of my piety that I had so early been admitted to the " Table of the Lord "—was concentrated on the act, and when I received the sacred host from the hands of Joseph Fessler, Bishop of Feldkirch, afterwards Secretary to the Vatican Council, I partook with strong faith and the deepest reverence ; but my little heart was full of doubt and unrest, which from thenceforth were to be the constant attendants of my life journey. There was an end to the clear, undimmed brightness of the religious sky above my childish head. Shadows, often darkness, gathered about me. Even then I began to suffer, and my sufferings increased with my years. My torturers were the Confession and Communion.

Celebrations like that of the first Communion emphasise particularly the weak points of Ultramontane and Jesuit piety. It would seem natural that the celebration of the

first "mystic union" of the soul with God should be accomplished in solemn silence, with no element of worldliness, noise, or pomp. But the contrary is the case. The service is conducted with the greatest splendour and pomp, invitations are sent to the parents and relations of the communicants and others; any ecclesiastical dignitary or prince of the Church who is within reach is invited to the Communion; and at the moment of celebration, sentimental chants are sung, "calculated to induce tears." As soon as the Church ceremony is over, a luxurious lunch is served to the communicants and their parents, friends, and teachers. In fact, the inner meaning is overgrown by externals; and only those who are quite unaffected by the external, which is almost impossible for children, can resist the effects of this suffocating overgrowth and refrain from regarding the husk as the kernel.

Here is an experience connected with the Communion, "the most venerable of all mysteries."

The Church requires that those who partake of the Communion should have fasted—*i.e.* taken neither food nor drink from midnight until the reception of the Communion in the course of the morning. This rule, laid down out of reverence for the "heavenly food" and justified by the faith in it, is carried out so strictly that even swallowing a few drops of water when brushing the teeth or a little smoke when smoking is regarded as a breach of the fast, excluding from the Communion.*

Now at Feldkirch it was the custom to celebrate a midnight mass on Christmas Eve, at which we pupils received the Communion. The choir, to which I also belonged, sang the choral accompaniments. To keep up the voice and strength of the singers, mulled wine and cake were served out to them between eleven and twelve o'clock.

* *Cf.* my book, *Das Pappsttum in seiner sozial-kulturellen Wirksamkeit*, vol. 2, pp. 167–169.

The Music Prefect stood beside us with his watch in his hand to stop the eating and drinking half a minute before the stroke of the clock. About twenty minutes later we went to Communion full of cake and wine. But the regulation that communicants must partake of no food after midnight was observed.

It is easy to imagine the effect this arrangement had upon our conception of the command to partake of the Communion fasting. It was really an official indication of the way skilfully to evade a command whose breach involved a deadly sin. And the reverence for the "heavenly food" was certainly not increased by the consumption immediately before of wine and cake. But it is very characteristic of Jesuit morality, and on that account I mention it.

During my residence at Feldkirch I had two confessors, Father Joller and Father Link. I remember the former with horror, the latter with love and reverence.

Father Joller was afterwards dismissed from the Order for immoral conduct towards children attending his confessional. He was my confessor for the first two years of my stay, at the ages of nine and ten. He never tried to harm me, but on confession days I always entered his room with a vague feeling of terror. For it was he who taught me the injury that can be done to a childish soul by questions dealing with the Seventh Commandment. My body and its natural functions became "immediate opportunity for sins of unchastity"; I became timid and anxious in the use of my hands, and the most innocent natural occurrences caused me alarm. That nothing worse befell me I owe no thanks to the Jesuit Joller.

It was, however, a severe breach of the regulations for a confessor to admit pupils into his bedroom for confession. The custom was afterwards abolished, and the

confessions took place, according to rule, at the confessionals in the chapel.

This abominable custom of sending children to confess in the confessor's bedroom has always existed in Jesuit institutions. The circular letters of the Provincial of the Bohemian province, issued shortly before the dissolution of the Order, deal with it in very plain terms.*

"In order effectively to prevent the admission of boys to the interior of our houses I consider it expedient that Your Reverences should execute, without consideration or delay, the punishments appointed on many occasions for those persons in whose room (*cubiculum*) any boy may be found; and if any of the Superiors should be lax in this respect you should make up for their remissness and execute the punishment as soon as possible."†

"Every care should be taken to prevent the children from entering the bedrooms. Anyone who calls them in or admits them under the pretext of Confession must, in accordance with the old and oft-repeated rule, without regard of persons, suffer the penalty of the 'little table.'" (This meant that he must take his meals kneeling at a little separate table in the middle of the refectory.) ‡

"I forbid most absolutely the admission of boys to the bedrooms of our brotherhood."§

"The regulations so often repeated as to the exclusion of boys from the bedrooms are not sufficiently observed. . . . Our very Venerable Father (the General of the Order) has recently decreed that those who disobey the regulation, if they are professed, must be removed from the school, even during the session." ||

I have no accusation to bring against my teachers and masters at Feldkirch; none of them ever offended against

* v. Kelle, p. 277 *et seq.*

† Letter of the Provincial Leopold Grimm of June 13th, 1745, Codex of the Vienna Court Library, No. 12,029, p. 210.

‡ Letter of the Provincial Norbert Steer, Codex No. 11,956, p. 46.

§ Letter of the Provincial Karl Reutsch, August 11th, 1755, Codex No. 11,951, p. 17.

|| Letter of the Provincial Leopold Grimm of November 13th, 1745, Codex No. 12,029, p. 215.

my modesty; but in speaking of the Joller case I had to state that the Society of Jesus, like every other human society, has some black sheep in its ranks, and that here, as elsewhere, in spite of rule and order, abuses and bad habits will gain ground. But the voice of its own secret documents bears testimony against "the high sanctity and spotless purity" of the Jesuit Order, which its eulogists regard as an axiom, though this voice, as already stated, is but seldom heard, and then only in the case of a lucky accident. One such is to be found in a secret instruction of the General Claudius Acquaviva, dated the 5th of August, 1595, and preserved in the Vienna Library.*

"If one of our Order has perpetrated an act of unchastity against another and the matter has been kept secret, so that no scandal has arisen, although the offence is such as to merit expulsion, the matter should be treated as secret and not urgent, because circumstances might arise which would entitle the accused to forgiveness."

Here there is more at stake than the sin of a few individuals, for the Order covers the shame of its members with its moral principles so long as no scandal has arisen.

In face of such official direction we are justified in asking: How many lapses may not have been, and still be, covered with the "cloak" of this morality in the Jesuit educational establishments?

The Joller case suggests another point. What is the actual state of morality of the pupils among themselves and in relation to their teachers in the Jesuit establishments?

So far as my own personal experience is concerned, I can give Feldkirch a good character in both respects, at any rate as regards actual immorality. Here, as elsewhere, when many young people are together in a community, there were occasional lapses from morality, but they were exceptional, and not of a very serious character.

* Codex No. 11,953, p. 3; see Kelle, pp. 100 to 278.

For I have come gradually to the conviction that sexual sins, if they do not become habitual and are not of a distinctly perverted nature, are by no means the worst of youthful offences. In any case, they were exceptional among us. The general tone was pure and healthy.

Among the teachers, too, the unfortunate Father Joller was no doubt an exception. Although I was a pretty boy —there is no harm in saying so after the lapse of all these years—no indecent advances were ever made to me by any of the Fathers. But there was often something caressing and fondling in their manner, which might easily have led a stage further to moral wrong.

The first prefect of the second division, Jacob Filling, had a great fondness for me, and showed it by stroking my cheeks, laying his face against mine, and pressing me to him. These were not exactly wrongful actions, and, of course, I do not know what were the inner feelings that prompted them; but for an educator—and especially the member of an Order which exacts a vow of chastity—they were unsuitable and questionable proceedings. Fortunately they had no harmful influence on me; they were physically disagreeable, if only because Father Filling smelt strongly of snuff (snuff-taking is a bad habit to which Jesuits are much addicted), and he was usually badly shaved, so that the stubbles of his beard hurt me when his face touched mine.

Such demonstrations of affection are by no means unusual in Jesuit establishments. They are a frequent subject of complaint on the part of the Superiors, and though no mention of them is made by the official historians of the Order, there are many allusions in the secret documents of the Jesuits now deposited in the State archives, *e.g.*:—

"In order to observe due precaution in the intercourse with youths it is my pleasure that the punishment of public scourging

be inflicted (according to the words of our Father, the General of the Order) on those who do not refrain from touching the face and hands of the young persons."*

It is only a step further to sexual vice, and many a Jesuit teacher has taken it.

It is necessary to state this, not to provoke scandal, but, in view of the laudation pronounced on themselves by Jesuits as well as by other superficial eulogists, to establish the fact that the Society of Jesus, in this as in other respects, in spite of its vow of chastity, has paid its full tribute to erring humanity. They, too, might have said, *Nihil humani a me alienum puto.* But this is what they deny. Like its great example, the Papacy, the Jesuit Order only appears to the faithful in mystic glorification, and maintains, though knowing it to be false, "As was Jesus, so am I." That is why others have to speak. And herein lies the condemnation: they speak with the voice of the Order itself, which now resounds in public through the secret documents seized by the State, while formerly, when a hundred precautions were taken to deaden the sound, the facts were merely whispered secretly among the initiated.

The chief director of the Royal Bavarian State Archives, Karl Heinrich von Lang, in a pamphlet entitled, "*Reverendi in Christo Patris Jacobi Marelli, S.J., amores, e scriniis provinciae superioris Germaniae Monachi nuper apertis brevi libello expositi,*" published in 1815 at Munich, made a collection, from the secret documents of the Upper German province of the Jesuit Order in the State archives at Munich, of the worst cases of such immorality on the part of Jesuit teachers and instructors in the years 1650–1713. Some of the thirty-four Jesuits mentioned there by name corrupted no fewer than seventeen boys, among

* Epistle of the Provincial Matthias Tanner of August 27th, 1677, Codex No. 11,953, fol. 73a; see Kelle, p. 278.

them sons of the noble families of Öttingen, Fugger, Zeil. I refrain from entering into the abominable details.

As to the treatment of such cases by the Superiors of the Order, I may mention at once—though I deal with the matter again in Part II.—that the penance inflicted on one of the worst corrupters of youth, Father Theoderich Beck, who had on his conscience boys at Prague, Constance, Vienna, Freiburg, and Heidersheim, was to fast on Saturdays.* Even the Visitator, Father Christopher Schorrer, advises the General, Father Paul Oliva, only to punish Father Beck, in spite of the enormity of his immoralities, by dismissal from the Court of Cardinal Frederick of Hesse, whose confessor he was, and a few other penances. Among other reasons for the lack of severity, he mentions that "his misdoings are not publicly known." The General did not agree to the proposal. Still, we do not hear of Beck's expulsion from the Order.†

Instigated by Lang's treatise, August Kluckhohn more recently searched the Jesuit secret documents in the Bavarian State Archives. He says:

"Disgusted with the filth which came to light, I read through only a portion of the papers. It was enough to convince me of the truth of Lang's statement that he had but noted a few out of a large number of cases, and to convince me that no mention of even more numerous cases has come down to us, either because they were not notified to the Superior, or because the documents in question have not been preserved."‡

Such "filth" in such plenty I do not think could be found in the archives of Feldkirch. The atmosphere there

* Lang, *Reverendi in Christo Patris Jacobi Marelli, S.J.*, p. 26.

† *Cf.* Döllinger-Reusch, *Geschichte der Moralstreitigkeiten*, u.s.w., Nördlingen, 1889, i., p. 642 *et seq.*, and ii., p. 364 *et seq.*

‡ *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Schulwesens in Bayern vom* 16 *bis zum* 18 *Jahrhundert*, Abhandlungen der histor. Klasse der kgl. bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Munich, 1874, vol. 12, p. 212.

was unhealthy because of its excessive and exaggerated "purity." Everywhere lurked the dread of unchastity.

The strict supervision already described was really calculated to turn innocent thoughts into a dangerous direction, while the methods adopted for cultivating piety, especially the sermons and "spiritual literature," were such as to heighten this effect.

Our preachers on Sundays and festivals always dwelt with special preference on the seventh commandment, the temptations to break it, and the evil consequences of yielding to them. The spiritual literature was taken from the lives of the saints, in which the triumph of chastity is specially emphasised. And what "chastity"! The hideous, unnatural and extreme conduct of the two "angelic" youths, Stanislaus Kostka and Aloysius de Gonzaga, both Jesuits, was set forth as a shining example. Special admiration was due to the angelic Aloysius, whose love of chastity and fear of awakening carnal desires kept him from looking at his own mother. Such piety and morality rest on a crumbling foundation.

It is a pure delight to turn from all these repulsive details to the memory of my second confessor, Father Augustin Link. He was an un-Jesuit-like Jesuit, simple, candid, truthful, straightforward, unselfish, loving, and pious. That he preserved these qualities and remained unbroken and unadapted to the Jesuit model was doubtless due to the fact that he entered the Order late in life as a secular priest, and quickly passed through the educational course of Jesuit training. In Father Link the Jesuit and the priest were subordinate to the nobility of the man. That is why all our hearts turned to him with unbounded confidence.

Among the Feldkirch pupils who knew him, and above all his own penitents, only one voice was heard: "Dear,

unforgettable Father Link!" To us he was not only an enlightened spiritual director, who tried to lead us along the road of true and simple piety, he was father and mother as well. It was in this paternal capacity I came to know him; and many others had doubtless the same experience, though I can speak only of my own.

There was nothing in which he lacked understanding and patience; everything that can move a child's spirit, each of his joys and sorrows, called forth his kind and sympathetic attention. There is much in a boy's psychic and physical development to distress him, and, if he has undergone an ultramontane education, even to excite him, disturb his religious and ethical equilibrium, and obscure his capacity to distinguish between what is and what is not sin. Sexual processes, natural occurrences connected with the approach of maturity, are all causes of trouble and anxiety to the soul of an inexperienced child. In all such cases Father Link showed a father's forethought. He spoke quite simply about such things, pointed out that physical processes were natural, and therefore morally innocent, and rendered us a priceless service in helping us to understand. Still, when I compare his clear, simple, and natural teaching about sexual matters with the unnatural and complicated explanations of Jesuit theological morality, always scenting sin and thus driving men to disturbing doubts and into sin itself, I can but repeat, "Father Link was no Jesuit." Not that he was in any way lax; his morality was pure, even strict, but he was a human being, not a casuist; he gave its due to human nature without in any way curtailing the Christian teaching of morality as laid down in the Gospels.

His un-Jesuit-like character was especially beneficial to me in one particular. I have already mentioned the embargo laid on friendships between pupils at Feldkirch and other Jesuit schools, and the grounds on which they

were based. But Father Link did his best to promote such a friendship between me and another pupil, and that in spite of the express prohibition of Father Pottgeisser, at that time General Prefect. He gave us opportunities for meeting in his own room, which, by the irony of fate, was situated immediately above that of the General Prefect, who warred so zealously against special friendships in general and ours in particular. For Augustin Link the man recognised what the Jesuit Julius Pottgeisser and the whole Jesuit system of education could not and cannot grasp—the moral value of friendship.

All my life I shall bless the memory of this admirable man. Long after I left Feldkirch, during my student and lawyer days, I often went in doubt and difficulty to Father Link, and never in vain.

Some years ago, when I happened to pass through Feldkirch, I stayed there a few hours, for I longed to revisit the abode of my youth. My first walk was to the churchyard, to seek Father Link's grave. In the short time at my disposal I was unable to find it. But on that solemn spot, where I knew that all in him that was mortal must rest, the question arose in me, "What would Father Link say to me, the renegade and apostate?" I know the answer: "Do what your conscience bids and your conviction demands of you." *Ave pia anima.*

The year 1866 was a hard one for me. The hatred of Prussia and Protestantism, so typical of my Jesuit teachers, grievously wounded my Prussian patriotism. For this, as already stated, was another respect in which I differed from my family. While my father, though loyal, was coldly disposed towards Prussia, and my mother and sisters felt as much hatred for that country as their Christianity permitted, I had from earliest childhood been a passionate Prussian and Bismarck-worshipper.

The year 1866 proved the parting of the ways. The Catholics of the Rhinelands and Westphalia, especially the families of the Catholic nobility, with few exceptions regarded the contest between Prussia and Austria as a struggle between Protestantism and Catholicism. In consequence, the great majority of Prussian Catholic subjects sympathised with Austria. Ancient Catholic Rhenish and Westphalian families, such as Wolff-Metternich, Westphalen, Korff-Schmising-Kerssenbrock, allowed their sons to become officers in the Austrian army and fight in Bohemia against Prussia. The whole Catholic priesthood was on the side of Austria ; and the Jesuits, whose influence was then at its height in the Rhinelands and Westphalia, did their best to foment the anti-Prussian feeling. In my own family it manifested itself boldly, and often in drastic fashion.

My sister Antonia used to sing with the greatest enthusiasm in the evening, in our family circle, the "Cradle-song of a Polish Mother," composed by the well-known convert, Countess Ida Hahn-Hahn, with her own alterations in the text directed against Prussia.

"If right has wandered to the skies,
Since here in Prussia [for 'on earth'] are naught but lies:

When Austria's [for 'Poland's'] eagle floats once more,

Far better die a patriot brave
Than basely live a Prussian's [for 'tyrant's'] slave!"

No objection was ever made by my parents to these really treasonable utterances of my excitable sister of twenty. As a specially zealous pupil of the Jesuit Behrens, a frequent guest at our house, she had doubtless been inspired by him with these treasonable tendencies.

This anti-Prussian attitude of my mother's even led to serious family quarrels. Her eldest brother, Count

Max von Loë-Wissen, was on the Prussian side, and many an angry scene was enacted between them. But it was her hatred of Bismarck which led to the final breach between our families.

The conversation at table turned upon the attempt on Bismarck's life made by Cohen-Blind on the 20th of May, 1866. My uncle Max, in explaining why Bismarck had not been wounded, demonstrated how a bullet from a pistol held too close to the object often failed to penetrate it. My mother thereupon exclaimed, "The whole thing was a fraud and got-up thing! There was never any bullet there." At this my uncle got up indignantly and drove away on the spot. For a long while all intercourse between them ceased, and they barely saluted each other if they met elsewhere.

Another utterance of my mother's—this time in connection with Kullmann's attempt in 1874—may be mentioned here. We were on a visit to my married sister, Marie Stolberg, and drove with the rest of the Stolbergs to Dresden, which was not very far from my brother-in-law's estate. On our way we heard of the attempt on Bismarck's life and its failure. "How great is the long-suffering of God!" exclaimed my mother; and Count Alfred Stolberg, at that time head of the Catholic branch of the Stolbergs and a deputy of the Centre, added amiably, "Yes; even the devil does not want him!"

My mother was well supported in her opposition to Prussia by her younger brother, Baron Felix von Loë, leader of the Centre and founder of the Catholic National Union and the Rhenish Peasants' Union. Although district-head (*Landrat*) at Cleves—an office of which he was eventually deprived—he never made any secret of his intense dislike of Protestant Prussia.

It was this sharp anti-Prussian breeze in my family that fanned my own love to greater heat. It reached its

highest point at Feldkirch, not so much because I was compelled to live in hostile Austria, as because the Jesuits made an inexcusable display of their anti-Prussian sentiments.

We pupils were not allowed to read the paper; all the news from the seat of war was communicated to us by our Jesuit teachers. So long as it was possible they told us the most shameful lies of a succession of Austrian victories, even a few days after Königgrätz! When they could no longer deny the success of Prussia they tried to arouse our sectarian instincts against the "Prussian dominance." In particular Father Filling, at that time my First Prefect, who was disposed to be fond of me, performed the most amazing feats of lying and provocation. However, he never again stroked my cheeks; I would not allow it, for I had conceived an actual hatred for him.

A lad of fourteen, I shed tears of anger as well as tears of love for my distant, despised, and slandered Fatherland.

By a shameful abuse of their authority, social gatherings of the pupils from the most various countries were transformed by our teachers into patriotic Austrian celebrations. On these occasions the Musical Prefect, Father Karl Strauss, sang to guitar accompaniment the Austrian National Anthem and "The Death of Andreas Hofer."

But whenever Jesuits see a danger for themselves there is an end of internationalism and universal love. Then they try to fuse their own members and the youth entrusted to their charge in one sectarian mass, and the cement is the hatred of heresy. How often, in my later Jesuit days, looking back on my experiences at Feldkirch in 1866, did I ponder on the passage, already quoted, from the Rules of the Order, which prescribes that "if conflicts arise among Christian princes" the Society of Jesus is to show no preference for one or other side, but "a kind of universal love is to embrace all parties"! My own

acquaintance with the Order, acquired during thirty-two years, first as a pupil then as a Jesuit, has never encountered this Universal love, but only the Order's hatred where Prussia was in question.

Still, I am trying to reconcile contradictions where there are none. The statute prescribes love towards "Christian" princes, but a "heretical" prince in Jesuit, as in ultramontane eyes, is not a Christian, so perhaps the attitude of the Jesuits is consistent with their rule.

Even in my early days at Feldkirch attempts were made to win me for the Order. My natural disposition, influenced strongly by a pious ultramontane education, afforded excellent ground for such attempts. Even in my childish years I was filled with religious idealism, which remained with me till, many years later, my old faith forsook me. To be pious and good, to strive after perfection, was the natural inclination of my heart; unlimited reverence and respect for the priesthood and Order were as much my inheritance as my name and position. With such ethical and intellectual tendencies it was easy to turn me in the direction of the Jesuit Order, especially as it was—and still is—regarded, in ultramontane circles, as the very acme of Christian perfection. For the Jesuits have employed all their skill and cunning in the establishment of this prejudice in their favour.

One very effective method—which was successful in my case too—of bringing young recruits to the Order, is the system of "Annual Exercises" conducted by the Jesuits in their educational establishments, and directed both generally and particularly towards this end.

During these exercises no efforts are spared to bring before the pupils in the most impressive, one-sided, and exaggerated manner the vanity of earthly things, the need of salvation, and the great difficulties in the way. All this is set forth in drastic colouring, calculated to strike

the fantasy, on a background composed of hell-fire and the terrors of death and the judgment. In so doing the Director of the Exercises takes care to hint, in a casual manner, at the security against all spiritual dangers afforded by the priestly office. Thus the boy's attention is naturally directed towards the Orders, and, since he is a Jesuit pupil, towards the Jesuit Order in particular.

This general method is further supplemented by the "Choice of Vocation." This is an important part of the disciplinary spiritual system of the Jesuit Order. It is based on the false premiss that God has, as it were, predestined every human being for a definite vocation, and only by following this can he find any security for the attainment of salvation.

It would, of course, be too summary a proceeding to reveal the whole absurdity of such a choice of vocation, resting as it does on a false disciplinary basis, by estimating each separate profession according to its chances of salvation and comparing it with any other on this estimate. It is simpler and more profitable to make a general division of professions under two comprehensive headings: temporal and spiritual, the latter including the priestly office and the Orders. In this way the gaze of the boy who seeks, or is compelled to seek, after a vocation is at the outset skilfully directed to this fundamental contrast between the "world" and the "Order," of course to the discredit of the world with its spiritual perils.

Such a choice of vocation is a part of "good" exercises. The method in which it is usually conducted is very Jesuitical and very effective psychologically. A piece of paper is divided by a line into two columns. On one side must be written the spiritual dangers of a worldly career, and the means afforded for resisting these perils; on the other, the advantages for the soul's welfare of a spiritual vocation, and the means it affords for securing, even here

on earth, that true happiness which is only to be found in piety. It is needless to say that the result of the balance is all in favour of the spiritual vocation.

Without any exaggeration, I may assert that in the course of years I took part in two dozen of these "vocation choices," the solution of which was always the Jesuit Order. The same thing happens to all Jesuit pupils and others who take part in their exercises. But as these exercises, though of Jesuit origin, are now in vogue among all other Orders too, and as all young Ultramontanes, male and female, take part in them, it is not surprising that the religious orders are on the increase and the convents grow more numerous. It is the "choice of vocation" that swells their numbers and expands their walls; for it is this which leads the religious idealism of Catholic youth to the gates of the convents.

When the "choice" ends in a decision for the spiritual life in the Order, the *gratia vocationis* has been attained. For it is a special grace to be called by God to membership of an Order, a token of predestination to everlasting blessedness. Those who neglect this grace, or decline to follow its leading, incur heavy guilt and a grievous responsibility. This thought, which is emphasised again and again during the "choice," keeps the "chosen" fast bound as by a chain. The fear of losing certain salvation through neglecting the grace of vocation weighs him down. I suffered more under the "grace of vocation" than a slave under the lash, but in my case it was used against me by confessors, spiritual guides, and my own nearest relations.

I have already quoted the rule in the *Ratio* which apparently forbids the Prefect to entice a pupil into the Order, and wisely assigns this function to the Father Confessor. In my case it was the opposite that happened;

the teachers forced my will in the desired direction, my confessor, Father Link, preserved a neutral attitude.

Among all those who were concerned in my education there were two who very early laid the foundation of the unhappiness (and later happiness) of my life. These were the head of the Feldkirch educational establishment, the Rector, Father Karl Billet, and the First Prefect of the second division, Father Filling. Both worked hand in hand, for many a time Father Filling sent me to Father Billet in this matter. Usually he gave me a folded note in which he besought the Father Rector "to strengthen the pious child in his good resolutions." Father Filling lost his influence over me in 1866 in consequence of his hatred of Prussia; but Father Billet retained his. It was he who first acquainted my mother, in a letter written in French, "*de la sainte vocation de ce cher enfant.*" After this her influence was added to theirs, as I shall show later.

When I left Feldkirch in July, 1869, in my eighteenth year, all these circumstances had culminated in the firm resolve to become a Jesuit. Father Faller, the Superior of the German Province, desired me to visit him at Maria-Laach, at that time in the hands of the Jesuits, and then after the holidays in October begin my novitiate at Dorheim, near Sigmaringen. They evidently wished to waste no time, for I had then only reached the upper second class of the *gymnasium.* But the younger I was the more fit I should be to absorb the spirit of the Order.

At this stage Father Link quite unintentionally put a spoke in the wheel. He proposed that on my way home I should stop at Mayence, to visit the Bishop, Baron Wilhelm Emanuel von Ketteler, a near relation of my mother's, and ask the episcopal blessing on my plans. My parents, who were awaiting me at Cologne, gave their consent.

When I had explained my intentions to the Bishop,

he answered without hesitation, in his own peculiar kind and hearty manner, "No, my dear boy; you are much too young to form such resolutions. First learn something about the world which you desire to leave, and about which you know nothing; at any rate, pass your matriculation examination."

With a feeling of great relief and inward joy—which at that time, when I was so eager to become a Jesuit, I was unable to understand, but afterwards, when I became conscious of the resistance of my nature to this proposed exile from the world, appeared to me a natural reaction against an unnatural proposal—I travelled on to Cologne, and late the same evening informed my parents, who met me at the Hotel Ernst, of the episcopal decision. My father appeared to me glad, but my mother seemed sorrowful. My Provincial, Father Faller, was greatly annoyed. He gave me "rules of conduct," to keep me from "losing the grace of vocation in the life of the world."

Herewith ends what I have to tell of Feldkirch.

Putting aside the great faults of the Jesuit systems of instruction and education, and regarding these eight years simply as the period of youth apart from the results of education, I look back upon them with pleasure. They are characterised by a joyous spirit and moral tone, two most precious reminiscences. And I am animated by feelings of gratitude for all the kindness that fell to my lot there.

But neither the remembrance of my own happiness nor any feelings of gratitude would let me withdraw a single word that I have written on the Jesuit system. It is bad, morally and intellectually, from the standpoint of education and instruction, and can therefore only bear bad fruits.

CHAPTER VII

MAYENCE

My departure from Feldkirch was the beginning of a new life. There was an end of seclusion; I once more entered the family circle and came into touch with the rest of the world.

In religious, political and national concerns the period was one of excitement and significance. Two events of universal importance, with a number of accompanying and resulting circumstances, occurred in the years that followed immediately on my residence at Feldkirch: the Vatican Council and the Franco-German War. They influenced me strongly, for the position and views of my family brought me into close contact with both.

A great part of the account which follows deals therefore largely with family events, which I shall group together. This is no digression, since the period I have now to describe was decisive for the development, which eventually led me to the novitiate house of the Jesuit Order.

Feldkirch, and the resolve to become a Jesuit infused in me there, would probably, in spite of all, have remained without effect had not the succeeding years spun new threads about me, and thus gradually surrounded me with a net, which at last stifled my will and reason, in spite of all resistance.

There were three reasons which determined my parents to send me to finish my school studies at the Gymnasium of the Grand Duchy of Hesse at Mayence, where I was

to pass through the two divisions of the First Class. The three reasons were three persons:

The Bishop of Mayence, Baron Wilhelm Emanuel von Ketteler, my mother's cousin;

The Superior of the Jesuit Settlement at Mayence, Father Adolf von Doss, and

The Director of the Mayence Gymnasium, Dr. Heinrich Bone.

Under their triple protection I was considered safe.

1. Baron Wilhelm von Ketteler:

Many a remarkable personality have I met in the course of my life, but never one more striking, impressive, fascinating and inspiring than the Bishop of Mayence.

No doubt Ketteler's influence was specially strong and enduring, because I was still young when this remarkable man, at the very height of his fame and importance, came into my life, and also because he was a bishop and I a faithful Catholic. But even without these circumstances, intercourse with Ketteler, "the bishop-uncle," as he was called in the family circle, would have filled me with reverence, admiration and love.

I must renounce any attempt to give here a character study of this glorious man. In an article in the *Preussische Jahrbücher* (1900) I have attempted to portray the bishop as he remains in my memory. Here I am only concerned with Ketteler's public position and his influence on my development.

Ketteler was at that time the intellectual centre and culminating point of the German and German-Austrian episcopate, and he, therefore, became the leader of the so-called "minority party" at the Vatican Council. Through him, at his house and at his table, where I dined regularly twice a week during my two years' residence at Mayence, I was introduced, at the age of seventeen,

to the world of ecclesiastical and religious conflicts which raged from 1869–1872. There I came to know a number of the most prominent Catholics of the day: Bishops Melchers of Cologne, Haneberg of Speyer, Martin of Paderborn, Brinkman of Münster, Dupanloup of Orleans; Count Blome, the Holstein convert, afterwards Austrian Minister; Prince Karl Löwenstein, now a Dominican; Windthorst, the two Reichenspergers, the novelist convert Countess Ida Hahn-Hahn, Ernst Lieber, the intriguing leader of the Centre, and the "Trinity of Mayence"—the Canons Haffner (Ketteler's successor), Heinrich (Dean of the Cathedral), Mouffang, Regent of the priestly seminary and Federal deputy, and others. The conversation almost always turned on the infallibility of the Pope.

Ketteler was not really opposed to the doctrine of infallibility, though he considered its definition by the Council inopportune. But in argument he was often carried by his excitable temperament beyond the limits of opportunist opposition, and at times seemed to attack the doctrine itself.

I had grown up in the belief in the infallibility, and the opportunism of its definition was established as a matter of course, in accordance with my family traditions and the Feldkirch influence. Thus my point of view differed from Ketteler's, but I learnt from him to respect the convictions of others. Ketteler would uphold no opinion except from the purest motives. A man inspired with such love of the Church and Papacy, who led so pious, self-denying, and laborious a life, was no "doubtful" Catholic.

The recognition of this was of importance to me. At that time an absolutely fanatical infallibility-belief prevailed among large circles of the Rhenish-Westphalian nobility. Any doubt even as to the advisability of defining the doctrine was a revolt against the Papacy.

My own home was a centre of this heresy-hunting fanaticism.

My mother, in particular, turned to the doctrine of infallibility with all the ardour of her temperament. Dogmatic, historic and political difficulties and considerations, of course, did not exist in her woman's eyes. Jesuit influence and a daily perusal of the two "infallibilist" French papers, *L'Univers* (Paris) and *Le Bien Public* (Ghent), deprived her of the power of calm reasoning; her passion influenced even my father, and the highly venerated Bishop of Mayence fell under their suspicion. Violent attacks upon him, as leader of the "minority" bishops, occurred every day. At last, matters were carried so far that a coolness sprang up between him and my parents. Only many years later, when my father was on a visit to Mayence, was a reconciliation brought about through my mediation. Thanks to the reverence which a closer knowledge of his personality inspired in me, I felt bitterly the injustice of such attacks. I defended "my bishop" in deadly warfare, and thus often came into collision with my mother. On one occasion, indeed, when a number of guests were present, I was sent from the table because of an answer made in defence of "my bishop." No small indignity to a youth in his last school year.

Now and then this thought dawned sporadically in me: How inconsiderate and prone to hatred is Ultramontanism when its own interests are at stake! Then nothing can hold it back; not a bishop—no, not even the Pope—as I shall show later when I deal with my experiences within the Order. It is this brutal lack of consideration that prevents many Catholics who suffer grievously under the ultramontane yoke from throwing it off. They dread the ultramontane persecution, which shrinks from nothing.

But this little flickering of light was not strong enough

to restore my full vision, and my reason and will were in such complete dependence that I dared not follow my thoughts as to the uncatholic tyranny of Ultramontanism to their logical conclusion. I contented myself with defending the revered bishop, without recognising in the particular case a symptom of the whole system. It never could have occurred to me then that I should have occasion in my own experience, and with both body and soul, to make exhaustive acquaintance with this aspect of the system.

Ketteler had fanned the enthusiasm I already felt for Church and Papacy to a mighty flame. Not as regards its intellectual foundations, for he was no theologian; but my own soul was inspired by the ever-burning flame of his own enthusiasm and especially by his life of apostolic piety.

Above all, I was influenced by his attitude to the Council.

The submission of the "minority" bishops, particularly those of Germany, to the doctrine of infallibility has been blamed as due to weakness, lack of character, timidity. Above all, these accusations were—and are still—made against their leader Ketteler, and most unjustly. Of the sentiments of the other German bishops, which led to their unconditional acceptance of infallibility, I cannot judge from my own knowledge, but of Ketteler I can. Even to this day I am filled with admiration for his attitude; but at that time it literally hammered into me the belief in Church and Pope. For his submission, in spite of the heaviest sacrifices, was the fruit of his belief in the divine authority of the Church, the infallible direction of its general councils by the Holy Ghost, *i.e.* by God Himself. "God has spoken through the decision of the majority of the Council; nothing then remains for man but the submission of his heart and reason." How

many a time did I hear the venerable gentleman speak thus after his return from Rome! His experiences there had been painful. The human, too human, element in the Romish Church had come against him in the shape of fabrications, falsehoods, lies, and venal pushfulness, with all their strangling effects, but out of all that revolting mass the Council's definition of the infallibility shone forth like a gleaming lighthouse kindled by God Himself.

Only those who understand the Catholic belief in the divinity of the Church can understand and respect Ketteler's "change of view." And this belief can alone supply the standard for his whole public work, his conflicts with the Government and the rest.

In one point only was Ketteler's influence on me bad. As his faith was unlimited so was his superstition. The "wonderful" and "supernatural" had an almost magical effect on him. This essentially ultramontane peculiarity was particularly manifest in his attitude towards freemasonry, for in spite of his remarkable intelligence, Ketteler believed the most amazing cock-and-bull tales about freemasons and their doings. How often have I heard him state as a "fact" that the devil himself presided over the assemblies of the chief masons. My youthful mind was in consequence animated by an actual terror of every freemason.

The belief in the devilry of freemasons is common to all Ultramontanes, as I have already shown. This is evident from the nonsense which is seriously set forth in the article on the subject in the *Staats-lexikon der Görres-gesellschaft*, a society of which Baron von Hertling, leader of the Centre, is president. But even in ultramontane circles it is rare to find the mania carried to such a pitch as it was by Ketteler. He would unquestionably have been taken in by the "Taxil-hoax" had he been still alive.

Here, surely, is another proof of the fact that natural intelligence cannot protect an Ultramontane from grievous intellectual follies. The power of inherited and acquired prejudices, further supported by the religion of ultramontane Catholics, is overwhelming, and only few succeed in overcoming it.

My intention to enter the Jesuit Order was very seldom mentioned in Ketteler's conversations with me. Though certainly not hostile to the Order, there was much in it that was repugnant to his straightforward and chivalrous nature. He often expressed himself strongly about the Jesuit abuse of proselytising, and it was no doubt on that account that I received little encouragement in my intention from him. Nor, to be frank, did I seek it.

Until his death (13th July, 1877) I kept up the closest intercourse with him. I stood by his coffin in the bitterest grief, and I am still penetrated with love, gratitude and sorrow for this excellent man, in whom I saw the ideal of a bishop, the type of a noble character.

When on a trip to the Rhine in 1903, I took my wife to the Cathedral at Mayence and showed her the resting-place of the bishop-friend who was, in my eyes, a father, a man worthy to be called noble, not in the mere commonplace genealogical sense, but in the very highest meaning of the word.

2. The Jesuit, Adolf von Doss:

It would be impossible to find a greater contrast to Ketteler than Doss, both in appearance and mind.

The tall, impressive figure of the one, his calm, distinguished, even majestic bearing, with all his excitability, contrasted sharply with the short, thin, restless, mobile mannikin, with his ceaseless, hurried speech, his spasmodic, nervous laugh, his incessant pulling at his spectacles,

through which gleamed sharp but unsteady eyes. Both my father and mother agreed to hand me over to this Father. They meant him to be my mentor, and indeed he was.

Father von Doss found a lodging for me close to the Parish Church of St. Christopher, which was in the possession of the Jesuits, so that, as he said, I could easily come to him and he to me. As a matter of course, I entered his "scholars'-congregation," and he became my confessor. At our very first meeting he took me into the church, pointed to his confessional, and said, "You will come there every Saturday." And I came.

What it was that made him so irresistible in his intercourse with the young I do not know, for there was nothing winning about him. Perhaps it was his burr-like characteristics, for where he had once got a hold he never let go. He bored a way into his penitents, tore away their innermost secrets, and before they were aware they were completely in his power. The fact remains that he dominated all the pupils of the Mayence Gymnasium; from morning to night his room was crowded with them.

Father von Doss was strongly impressed with a belief in the devil, so characteristic of the Jesuits, far exceeding even the ordinary ultramontane teaching on the subject. Everywhere he scented the devil. In his eyes the "evil one," the "black one," was an almost visible and tangible being, that stalks mankind night and day and sets snares for them on every side. I do not think it was his intention, but it was the fear of the devil that drove the young people into his net. On one occasion, of which I must speak later, during a never-to-be-forgotten night in the Taunus Mountains, he drove the fear of the devil into the very marrow of my being. Happily the dread of this, the worst phantom of religious folly and dogmatic narrowness, was expelled thence long ago.

The coarseness of his views was especially made evident in the Annual Exercises which he conducted for the scholars. He was a past-master in style, he painted with words as an artist with colours. And what use he made of this power in the conduct of the Exercises! We were made to see, hear, feel, taste, even smell the terrors of death, the judgment, hell, to such a degree that once, overcome by terror, I ran away in the middle of his discourse and sought relief at the house of a kinsman, Count Max von Galen (afterwards Bishop of Münster), the Sub-Regent of the Mayence priestly seminary.

Still the Exercises conducted by Doss were not confined to asceticism and religion, but often dealt with other matters. As he was addressing the Gymnasium pupils, one of his subjects was almost always German literature, a "danger" against which Jesuits and Ultramontanes always warn their hearers. I have no notes of my own on the subject, but his biographer and brother Jesuit, Pfülf, has published the text of one of these philippics from the Exercises of 1868. It is only necessary to compare them with the directions in the official curriculum and the utterances of the Jesuits Helten and von Hammerstein, quoted elsewhere, to observe that in his aversion to the German national spirit the Jesuit remains a Jesuit, whether he is expounding literature or any other branch of knowledge, or giving ascetic exhortations.

"And then the German classics! Indeed we Germans must almost feel shame at possessing such a literature. . . . It is a perfect mania to suppose that a man has no education who has not read through the whole of Schiller and Goethe. . . . These are our ideals: Schiller and that rake Goethe, whose pen drops biting gall when he deals with religion. Thank God, during the last few years these great men have lost a portion of their halo. Just think how they used to be worshipped! Men fell

on their knees before Goethe, and it was much that they did not even say, 'O holy Goethe, pray for us!' As to novels, I prefer to say nothing about them, for you are not girls. That sort of literature is meant to lie on the work-table and by the looking-glass, and I assume that you take no pleasure in rubbish of that sort."

Pfülf also quotes from one of Doss's articles:

"We have ventured to break through the glory that surrounds a Goethe, to tear the mask from the idol, and to say to a world still trembling with reverence, '*Ecce quem colebatis*'! Nor was Goethe the only one over whom truth celebrated a glorious triumph, and justice, though late, broke her staff. Beside him lies many another fashion idol, injured or shattered, on the ground, awaiting the touch of pitying hands to give it decent burial."*

Such words, brimming over with folly and hate, uttered year after year before boys and youths who regarded the utterances of this mouth on this occasion as unimpeachable truth, could not fail of the intended effect.

As Father von Doss was exactly informed of my intention to enter the Order, he looked on me as already in part Jesuit property. Whenever the Provincial came to the "Residence" of Mayence for his annual visitation he presented me to him as a "postulant," the step which precedes the novitiate, and he succeeded in making me, even at that time, when I was in no way subject to the laws of the Order, lay before him and the Provincial my "statement of conscience" (*ratio conscientiae*), *i.e.* besides my confession, I had to give in writing the state of my conscience (sins, desires, temptations, virtuous practices).

When I compare Father von Doss with Father Link, I feel more and more how truly the latter may be called

* *Erinnerungen an P. A. von Doss.* Freiburg, 1887, pp. 287 *et seq.*

an un-Jesuit-like Jesuit. What a contrast there was between Link's candid, natural, and simple nature and the tortuous, aggressive manner of the Jesuit Superior of Mayence. In his exterior, too, Doss was the sort of Jesuit so frequently depicted in novels. But strange as it may seem, although I never felt drawn towards him, although the comparison with Father Link was so greatly to his disadvantage, his influence over me was far stronger than that of my Feldkirch confessor. I came entirely under his influence and was oppressed by this dependence long after I had left Mayence.

3. Dr. Heinrich Bone, Director of the Gymnasium:

Heinrich Bone was a very much respected personality in Catholic circles in the latter half of the last century, both as scholar and as man.

My parents had got to know him, when he was teaching at the Catholic Aristocratic Academy at Bedburg on the Rhine, of which my father was one of the trustees. They were, therefore, glad to send me to the Gymnasium, of which, thanks to the initiative of the Bishop of Mayence, Bone had been appointed director.

It is with gratitude that I recall this cultivated man. He kindly opened his house to the young scholar, and many an æsthetic and idealistic impulse was inspired in me by our conversations. Still my intercourse with him had no profound or decisive effect. That would not have been possible in the case of a man who lived in a world removed from reality. And it was doubtless for the same reason that his directorship of the college was not very successful. What he lacked was the power to initiate. He was a fine exponent of Sophocles and Horace, but he could not maintain order or discipline.

It was Bone who presided over the board of examiners, when I passed my matriculation examination in July,

1872. In the farewell speech of the State Representative my German essay was mentioned as the best. The subject set was a line from Schiller's *Piccolomini:* "In your own bosom seek the stars of fate."*

In how strange a fashion were these words to become my life's motto!

The completion of my school course once more brought into prominence the question of my entering the Jesuit Order, and with the punctuality of clockwork came the admonition of the Provincial. Father von Doss wished me to stop on my way home at Maria-Laach, the residence of the Provincial, "so as to make all necessary arrangements before the beginning of the vacation," which would enable me to enter the novitiate house in October without further preliminaries. I did not actually give a negative answer to his suggestion; indeed, I lacked courage for this, but when I reached Andernach, the station for Maria-Laach, I went past without stopping.

"First learn something about the world which you want to leave, and of which as yet you know nothing." These were the words spoken by the Bishop of Mayence, when, on leaving Feldkirch, I acquainted him with my desire to become a Jesuit.

And, indeed, I did learn to know the world, both in its external aspects and in my inner self. And this knowledge effected a transformation.

In spite of my pious Catholic education and my great reverence for the status of the Orders, I had never felt a strong impulse to flee from the world. Nor yet, in spite of repeated choice of vocation, had I ever really been convinced that entrance to the Order was necessary to the salvation of my soul.

But when I left the seclusion of Feldkirch for the

* Act I., scene 11.

comparative freedom of the Gymnasium, when my family circle with all its many connections received me once more, I began to feel that I belonged to the "world," that, after all, it was beautiful, good and desirable, and offered a glorious field for work and action.

But I uttered not a word of the change that was passing within me. Indeed, I had not the courage, for all those with whom I could have discussed it, my parents —especially my mother—and my confessors, would have accused me of sinful lack of determination, desertion, of throwing away the grace of vocation, and thus risking my salvation. So I let matters drift. But within me one difficulty succeeded another, for throughout my being new life, which hitherto I had hardly known, was stirring. Even the religious impulse inspired by the Vatican Council, about which I heard so much from the Bishop of Mayence, as well as in my own family, opposed rather than favoured my entrance of the Order. My desire was to fight and toil for the Church like the Bishop; and escape from the world would also have involved escape from the chosen scenes of work and conflict. For at that moment a social and political fighting organisation was coming into being in ultramontane Germany. The men who were to be found at its head, Baron Felix von Loë, von Mallinckrodt, Windthorst, Baron von Schorlemer-Alst, Mouffang, Reichensperger, found scope for speech and action in the political arena, not in the church and convent cell.

Of course, these thoughts were only apparent counter-currents, and they would certainly not have sufficed to turn my mind decisively from my determination. For it was easy enough for others, and, therefore, also for me, to prove that the Jesuit Order could provide the widest opportunities for working and fighting on behalf of the Church.

There were, however, two other circumstances which were directly and distinctly opposed to my entrance in an Order.

My life and individuality have been enriched by an endowment which I regard as one of my most precious possessions: I refer to my inextinguishable, passionate patriotism. From my earliest youth Prussian and German sentiment were among my strongest impulses to action, and this in spite of the frequent opposition in my own surroundings. And it is to this, above all, that I afterwards owed the courage and strength to burst the bonds of the Order.

My inborn Prusso-German patriotism had been greatly heightened by the Prussian victories of 1866, which revived the hopes of German unity and greatness; and now the Franco-German War of 1870–71, with its overwhelming victories, kindled in me a veritable blaze of enthusiasm. In Mayence I found myself in the very centre of the excitement.

Without intermission the troops poured through the town; outside was a great camp full of French prisoners. At the railway station we saw the Marshals MacMahon, Bazaine, Canrobert, and hundreds of French generals and officers who had been taken prisoners at Sedan or Metz. Then there was the thunder of the fortress cannon after each great victory, the triumphant reception—the first in any of the larger towns—of the new German Emperor and his great Chancellor on their return from France. All this seized my being with elemental force. And these impressions were deepened and the patriotism they awakened was heightened by the indifference, even aloofness, manifested by the whole of my family towards these great events.

The unlucky notion of the victory of Protestantism over Catholicism, which in 1866 had lessened the delight in

victory in Catholic circles, again manifested its poisonous effects in 1870–71. Indeed, it exists still to this day. Even in 1908 the leading ultramontane political paper of Germany, *Die historisch-politischen Blätter*, said:

"Nothing can be more illuminating than the statement that at Königgrätz, France too was beaten, and at Königgrätz and Sedan the whole Catholic world."

At that time this attempt to stir up ultramontane feeling was still more "illuminating," for it was the Jesuits who did most to spread it.

In August, 1870, during the vacation I had gone on my pony to the station at Guelders to get the latest news, and brought back the account of the first German victory at Spichern. In joyful haste, I galloped into the courtyard, and shouted the news up the main staircase, where stood my sister Antonia. Her response was an angry stamp of the foot, and the words: "Messenger of ill-luck." In my indignation, I should have liked to let my riding-whip fall on her shoulders in unbrotherly and unchivalrous fashion. At dinner an excited discussion took place. The Jesuit Behrens, who was present, acted as intermediary, trying to place matters "in their true light," and saying much about Protestantism and Catholicism, the assistance given by France to the Papacy, the defection of Prussia from the Catholic religion. Without openly taking the side of France, he showed plainly enough where his sympathies lay. One of my cousins, too, Baron Klemens von Fürstenberg, when on a hunting visit to our house, told me that at Paderborn at the beginning of the war several Jesuits had openly expressed hopes for the success of France.

In 1866 too I had had painful experience at Feldkirch of Jesuit patriotism. The same thing was repeated now on a larger scale. The result was dislike and distrust of the Order, while the idea of sacrificing my Fatherland

in order to become a cosmopolitan Jesuit in some other country became unendurable.

At that time I did not really understand the calculated internationalism of the Jesuits, and their essential hatred of Prussia, but I felt instinctively that there was on these points an antagonism between me and the Order, which went deep down to the very foundations of my being and theirs.

The Jesuit influence in our home had at this time probably reached its culminating point, at which, indeed, it remained. Its chief embodiment was the Jesuit Behrens, my mother's confessor and director. I do not think any occurrence of the very slightest importance took place without Father Behrens being called on to give the casting vote upon it. My mother was completely in his power; her dependence was such that he, a priest and monk, decided, at her request, whether my sister's dinner and ball dresses should be high or low and, in the latter case, how far they might be cut out. She used to discuss with him for hours. We children, too, were brought under him, much against our inclination.*

This excess of Jesuit influence, extending as it did to ordinary domestic occurrences and the most intimate private affairs, was a source of annoyance to me. In the person of Father Behrens, the Jesuit Order itself became odious in my eyes. Besides the love for my country, another love at that time entered my life, and directed

* It was at this time that a part of my mother's fortune must have been made over to Father Behrens, *i.e.*, to the Order, and this without the knowledge of my father. In 1889, when I, as a Jesuit, visited my mother in her widowed seclusion at Räckelwitz in Saxony, she told me that many years ago, by the advice of her Director, she had devoted part of her fortune to "a good object." She gave no name, but her directors were always Jesuits; after the death of Behrens, Fathers Hausherr and Meschler. It is certain that at her death she left about 30,000 m. (£1,500) less than was expected. She ended her story with the words, spoken with emotion and some little fear lest she should not have acted rightly: "Papa, who has entered on eternal life, will have forgiven me long ago, and you children, too, will forgive me one day."

me with all its force towards the world, which I should have to leave on entering the Order: the love for a woman.

It was a boyish love, for I had not left school when it began, but unlike the ordinary boyish love, it lasted for many years, and affected my life deeply. It was this which led me to postpone my entrance of the Order, and it was this, along with other causes, which at last, in spite of the resistance of my nature, drove me across its threshold.

My love for my cousin, Countess Mathilde W— M—, came upon me quietly, but with a power that drove everything else into the background. From the practical point of view, it was a foolish and hopeless passion; my cousin was six years older than I, and other circumstances too were unfavourable to an alliance. But from the human, immediate and unreflecting point of view, it was a glorious passion, full of joy and sorrow as is no doubt all love. And my affection was returned. But there was no demonstration of feeling between us. We never even put our love in words. Our hearts were full of tenderness, but it only showed itself in looks. Yet the knowledge of loving and being loved extended between us like some lovely garden spread at our feet. And yet, young as we were, this was no garden where the rays of early dawn shone on hope and future, but one where the setting sun already cast its lengthening shadows. We knew from the first that our love could not attain fulfilment, that its end was near. These sad anticipations of parting were not due to any external unfavourable circumstances; the main reason was my cousin's resolution to leave the world and become a Sister of Mercy. The sudden death of her father, who was killed by a hunting accident, had turned her thoughts away from the splendours of the world in which she had grown up. In 1873 she carried out her

intention; and she still wears the brown dress of the Franciscans, and serves poor suffering humanity.

Forty years have gone by since that love arose in me, and its old fires are quenched under the ashes of remembrance. It was a blossom which was never to expand. Only in the autumn of my life did I pluck the fruit of love and find happiness therein. Still, I look back lovingly on my youthful love. Even now it seems to me a sanctuary, where my thoughts linger gladly in quiet contemplation. And yet it brought grievous sorrow upon me; the most grievous of all is its share in the fatal title of this book: "Fourteen Years a Jesuit."

This is how it came about that I did not enter the novitiate after my matriculation. I did not confess to my parents the real grounds for delay, for I, too, regarded it as delay, not abandonment. My excuse was that I could not yet see my way clearly. It was only then I came to recognise how passionately my mother desired my entrance in the Order. She warned me against the "temptations of the devil," and pointed out the responsibility I incurred in "resisting the grace of vocation." My father too was now in favour of the step. Though he did not urge me, I could judge this from occasional utterances. On one occasion, when I happened to go out hunting at a time when the Jesuit Behrens, had announced a visit, and thus accidentally avoided meeting him, my father said on my return home: "I suppose it was your bad conscience that sent you away."

To all this I opposed only passive resistance. I lacked the courage to speak openly and confess the whole truth. For I myself believed in my "bad conscience"; the fear of criminally risking the "grace of vocation" was alive in me, and a half-heartedness, induced by my education, animated my whole being. The independence of my

thought, judgment, resolution, though rooted in the depths of my nature—else, indeed, I should not stand where I now do—dared not show itself. I was prevented by religious and ascetic prejudices and reasons, due to my education, from giving expression to my own will.

This, indeed, has been the curse of my life for many years. It caused a division within me which brought me much suffering. And with this divided mind I finally took the most momentous step of my life. I shall have to return to this once more, since it deals with an abuse closely connected with Catholic education and piety.

It was about this time that Cardinal Count Reisach, formerly Archbishop of Munich, and afterwards President of the Vatican Council, came to pay us a visit. I mention him because it shows one of the most disastrous peculiarities of Ultramontanism, which enables it to acquire power and influence in the Catholic and non-Catholic world: I mean its external pomp and splendour.

Our cousin, Count Rudolf von Schaesberg, escorted the Cardinal, who was on a visit to him and his wife, Countess Waldburg-Zeil, to our house in a carriage drawn by four horses, with outriders and lackeys. My parents received the "prince of the Church" at the foot of the great staircase. At the table, covered with the richest display of pomp, the Cardinal sat between my parents. After dinner, Reisach held a reception, and the guests were allowed to kiss his hand. When my turn came, he patted my shoulder, and said: "He would make a capital Zouave for the Papal army." For at that time a number of North German noblemen served in the army of "the Vicar of Christ," among them my two brothers-in-law, Counts Franz zu Stolberg-Stolberg and Franz Xavier Korff-Schmising-Kerssenbrock. If a Royal Prince had visited us at the same time as the Cardinal, he would have played a secondary part to the purple-robed "successor

of the apostles." Bishops, Cardinals and Popes are in ultramontane eyes "princes" *par excellence*, who take precedence of all other princes. I remember that Count Ferdinand von Galen, member of the Reichstag and leader of the Centre, once said to me: "After all, my real prince is the Bishop of Münster."

If the temporal princes, the State and the rest of the public would consistently refuse to tolerate the princely claims and the ostentatious behaviour of the ultramontane hierarchy, they would help to kill one of the roots of ultramontane power.* But the ignorance of Ultramontanism is so great that temporal princes, the State and the general public actually encourage the regal pretensions of the princes of the Church. At Court and everywhere else the floor must feel honoured if it is swept by the long red silk train of a cardinal's robe. And the floor of our own house was honoured by this distinction.

One of Reisach's sayings has remained in my memory: "The evil forces of Protestantism and freemasonry are let loose against us. But France, so dearly loved by the Holy Father (Pius IX.), will once more save the Church."

Clearly the gift of prophecy is not one of the prerogatives of Romish cardinals, for this was said before the outbreak of the Franco-German War. But they do claim the right to insult Germany, even when the cardinal is himself a German.

* *See* my book, *Moderner Staat und römische Kirche*. Berlin, C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn.

CHAPTER VIII

STONYHURST—BONN—GÖTTINGEN

Now began a series of deliberations between my parents and the Jesuits who frequented our house as to the next stage in my education. Needless to say that it was the Jesuits and not my parents with whom lay the final decision.

Though not yet prepared to enter a novitiate, my steps were directed towards a Jesuit House; I was sent to England to study philosophy at the Jesuit college at Stonyhurst. The plan met with my own approval. In this way I should see something of the world, and make acquaintance with England and the English language.

As my parents did not wish me to travel alone and were unable to accompany me themselves, my uncle, Baron Felix von Loë, escorted me to my destination across the Channel. In London, where we spent a few days, we saw all the usual sights; but one of our chief objects was to visit Cardinal Manning, the Catholic Archbishop of Westminster. The conversation, conducted in French, which Manning spoke atrociously, dealt with the Council, infallibility, the conflict with Rome impending in Germany, the position of the Catholics in England.

Manning was imbued with all the fanaticism of a convert. His thin, haggard exterior harmonised with the fanatical fire within. At that time I did not know of his hostility to the Jesuits. Some years later, when I was residing in England as a Jesuit, my colleagues in the

Order informed me in detail, and with some violence, of this peculiarity of Manning's.

Jesuits are good haters. Those who are not for them are against them, and are treated correspondingly. It makes no difference whether a man is a Catholic, priest, bishop, or even Pope. Indeed, the more influential and orthodox the opponent, the greater the obligation to be on the Jesuit side, and if he is not, so much the greater justification for hating him.

Fortified by Manning's episcopal blessing we went north.

Officially and legally the Jesuit Order is prohibited in England. But, in fact, the Jesuits have a number of settlements there, and the magnificence of their churches bears testimony to the wealth of the Order and its adherents. Stonyhurst, picturesquely situated in Lancashire, is the finest and most ostentatious educational establishment of the English province, perhaps of the whole Order.

In addition to the humanistic studies, which are adapted to English needs, there is also an elementary philosophy course. Each "philosopher" has a room of his own, and enjoys a considerable degree of liberty. We could choose between a philosophy course delivered in English, and the Latin course given by Jesuit scholastics in the neighbouring seminary. My choice fell on the latter, but I learnt next to nothing. For I was soon infected by the idleness which raged with devastating fury among my co-philosophers. The majority of these, sons of well-to-do or even wealthy families, cared only for a life of Epicurean comfort, and took no interest in work or study.

In fact I saw at Stonyhurst a laxity in education and supervision which certainly does not redound to the credit of Jesuit education. Our First Prefect, Father Eyre, brother of the Archbishop of Edinburgh, pursued a

policy of letting things alone. It was an open secret that not a few "philosophers" made use of the easily granted leave of absence to visit brothels in Liverpool, Manchester and London; some of them even kept their mistresses in little villages in the neighbourhood of the college. In March, 1873, five of us hired a coach and drove to the Grand National Steeplechase, and it was the intention of my companions to finish the evening at some Liverpool brothel.

That such proceedings, occurring under the eyes of Jesuit teachers, though not inside their college itself, did not shock me even more, and produced no lasting dislike to the Order, was no doubt due to the fact that my experiences at Feldkirch and in my own family were so utterly different that I scarcely regarded Stonyhurst as a Jesuit college. The Fathers kept aloof from me, and I had scarcely anything to do with them.

Our second Under-Prefect, Father Kerr, was a charming man, of a serious disposition, and a member of a good Scottish family. Many a pleasant hour did I spend with him. He was an agreeable contrast to the first Sub-Prefect, Father ——— ———, brother of the late Cardinal Archbishop of ———. A more conceited, frivolous and un-religious Jesuit I have never met. But he is still an ornament of the English province, and enjoys considerable reputation as a preacher and ladies' confessor.

A sharp contrast to the general laxity of morals was afforded in characteristic Jesuit fashion, by the strictness of the discipline in regard to outward pious observances. Absence or unpunctuality at matins or vespers or mass was punished by an imposition.

My experience of the instruction given at Stonyhurst is summed up in a word: it was worse than bad. The philosophy lectures in English which I attended several

times from curiosity were extraordinarily superficial, and the Latin course by the scholastics of the Order was only a pretence at study. For which of us "philosophers" could follow the lectures in Latin? There was no supervision and no guidance. My own philosophic studies consisted in reading English newspapers and novels, especially Dickens and Scott, playing chess and billiards and visiting at English country-houses, where I went fox-hunting and enjoyed myself immensely.

Nor was the humanistic instruction any better, to judge from the reports of others, for as a philosophy student, I was not concerned with it. It was in part, *i.e.* in respect of time-tables and text-books, adapted to the petrified, official curriculum of the Order, in part to the examination for the B.A. degree, for which Stonyhurst pupils were prepared. This preparation consisted in the dreariest routine, the merest cramming of the examination requirements, I talked to many of those who underwent this training; they knew the set subjects in Latin, Greek, Mathematics, off by heart, but a single question outside this framework "stumped" them. There was an absolute lack of any systematic methodical comprehension of the subject. No doubt this was due to the mechanical methods of instruction then, and to some extent still, prevalent in England. But it shows that, as I have frequently said, the Jesuit Order of itself creates no educational values and awakens no new life.

In August, 1872, I left Stonyhurst for home.

In the meantime an event had occurred at home, destined to be of the greatest significance in determining the whole course of my life. During the last few days of my stay in England, which I was spending at Newnham Paddox, the Earl of Denbigh's country seat, I received the news of my sister Marie's engagement to Count Franz

zu Stolberg-Stolberg, a grandson of Count Friedrich Leopold zu Stolberg-Stolberg, well known as a poet and convert to Catholicism. He was early left an orphan and brought up in the family of his uncle, my godfather, Count Caius zu Stolberg-Stolberg. After serving in the Austrian army, he entered the Papal Zouaves, where he continued until the occupation of Rome put an end to the Papal army. He then undertook the management of his estates in Saxony.

This engagement and marriage were in almost every respect unfortunate. My sister was consumptive, my brother-in-law diabetic, though at the time of the engagement this was not known. Nor was it really a love-match on my sister's part. The whole thing had been engineered by the Stolberg ladies, the same who had once burnt the *Kreuzzeitung;* they were anxious to find a good wife for their cousin. That my parents gave their consent almost surprised me. But here, too, a false conception of religion prevailed over human sentiment. "Franz is such a good pious Catholic," they said, "the marriage is bound to turn out well."

My sister Marie and I were united by the closest ties. She was my counsellor and my confidant; and it was she who incessantly admonished me of my "duty" to join the Jesuits. Her premature death in July, 1878, and all the circumstances connected with it made an ineradicable impression on me, and literally forced my will into the direction she had always in her lifetime indicated as that which I ought to follow. To these sad and significant events I must recur later.

In October, 1872, I went to the University of Bonn, where my elder brother, Wilhelm, had already been a year in residence. Like him, I decided to study Law, and put my name down for the lectures of Stitzing,

Schulte, Bauerband, Sell, and Hälschner. My studies, however, did not come to much, for social life and amusement carried the day.

Together with some other young nobles we formed a little society of our own. Among our number was Baron Luis von Aehrenthal, so prominent of late as Austrian Foreign Minister. At that time we never suspected in "Luis" the makings of a great statesman; indeed, we did not consider him particularly clever. Nor do I think that his ministry will prove beneficial to Austria. His action with regard to Bosnia and Herzegovina seems to lack forethought and deliberation.

One of my most agreeable memories is connected with the future Grand Duke of Mecklenburg, Friedrich Franz III., who was our fellow student at Bonn, and proved an amiable and dignified comrade. Another was the future Grand Duke of Oldenburg, who was also residing in Bonn and its neighbourhood "with a view to study." He has happily developed from an idle youth into an excellent prince.

If our circle was foolishly exclusive socially, it was even more so in religious matters. The first condition was ultramontane Catholicism. The beginning of the struggle with Rome (*Kulturkampf*) and the factions particularly emphasised at Bonn by the presence of the "Old Catholics" strengthened the "thoroughness of our sentiments." Here are some illustrations:

The decree of excommunication against the Old Catholic professors, Reusch and Langen, was copied by me and fastened to the University notice-board at night, while some of our party kept guard. When in a lecture Professor von Stitzing declared that the State was the sole source of public justice, and dwelt upon its absolute sovereignty, several of us left the hall as a demonstration; for we felt it right to protest against the anti-ultramontane doctrine

which denies the supremacy of the Church over the State. At an evening party given by the Curator of the University, Beseler, the Old Catholic Bishop Reinkens was present. We ostentatiously refused to be introduced to him, and when he addressed a guest at the table where some of us were seated we stood up and walked away with scant courtesy. We frequently visited at the house of my cousin, Baron von Loë, afterwards General Field-Marshal. At that time he had just handed over the command of the Royal Hussars at Bonn, which he had held during the campaign, but had kept on his house there, in which his wife and children resided. With them at that time lived a friend of his wife's, the nun Amalie von Lassaulx, whose refusal to subscribe to the dogma of infallibility had brought her into considerable prominence. So long as she was in it we kept aloof from my cousin's house, to avoid being polluted by contact with the heretic. We did not, however, think ourselves polluted by associating in the same house with Countess Sophie Hatzfeld, who had been Lassalle's mistress, although at that time she was living with another Socialist friend, whose name, I believe, was Mende. I do not wish to cast a stone at this courageous and brilliant woman, who in the assertion of her freedom set herself above the conventions of religion and society. I am only using the words from the ultramontane point of view, which at that time was my own. For according to this, heresy is the greatest of all sins. A heretic must be burnt, and shunned, no matter how high his standard of morals and conduct.

But enough of the ultramontane follies of that period!

In speaking of my residence at Bonn I have still to mention my connection with the Catholic Students' Association, Arminia. Von Doss, who kept me in touch with him by a regular correspondence, gave me no peace

till I joined it. I was by no means willing, for, to tell the truth, I at that time suffered from "pride of birth," and, with all our Catholicity, we Catholic nobles considered the Catholic students' unions plebeian. Of course we must approve them in principle and support them officially, but intercourse with these yokels was impossible. This point of view was very clearly represented by Count Droste-Vischering-Erbdroste, the present General Commissioner for the General Assemblies of German Catholics. Once when he was on a visit to Bonn, I begged him to come to one of the social evenings of the Arminia. He gave an emphatic refusal, saying that he felt ill at ease in such company.

I therefore met with considerable opposition from students of my own class, especially from my brother Wilhelm, when I announced my intention of joining a Catholic Students' Association. In spite of this I carried it out, because von Doss had represented it to me as a "Catholic duty." Nor do I regret it; for it enabled me from my own experience as an "Arminian" at Bonn, and later as a "Winfridian" at Göttingen, to comprehend the close connection between the Catholic Students' Associations and the Centre party. Generally speaking, however, the life in these Catholic associations is anything but religious, and as much drinking seems to go on there as in undenominational associations.

But the aristocratic dislike for the "plebeian" students' associations is continued in the Centre, and it is this which gives importance to what would otherwise be a trifle.

Again and again the inference has been drawn from this or that action on the part of members of the Centre and lower class Catholics, that decay has set in in the Centre edifice. The deduction is inaccurate. The oppositions which exist in the Centre can be traced back to the opposition between aristocracy and democracy. But

while in former times the aristocracy had the decisive influence, to-day the power is in the hands of a demagogic democracy. The representatives of the aristocracy in the Centre (Hompesch, Praschma, Loë, Galen, Wolff-Metternich, Spee, etc.) have been forced, much against their will, to yield to the democracy, in order not to forfeit their mandates. The few aristocrats who refused to do so have been driven out of Parliament. A minority are now attempting in the "German Union" (*Deutsche Vereinigung*) to injure the Centre party. Ignorance is the cause of the undue stress laid on such matters in non-ultramontane circles. It is a case of "the falling out of faithful friends" both in the Centre itself, among those who elect it, and in the whole ultramontane Catholic world outside. Of course there are differences of opinion there too, but the common ultramontane interest eventually dominates and levels them all. The Fronde against the Centre is unimportant and ineffective, because it is not supported by anti-ultramontane sentiment. The Frondists themselves are as ultramontane as the Centre, for they, too, are under the spell of the theory that Rome, Pope and Bishops are the decisive authorities on all domains, even of public life. They are, therefore, in agreement with the Centre which they oppose, on the very point which constitutes its actual essence.* How then could there be any really destructive opposition?

My year at Bonn was a time of inner conflict. I could not escape the consciousness of my sin against the grace of vocation in postponing my entrance of the Order. And this feeling was further stimulated by the letters from my mother, my sister Luise—herself a nun—my sister Marie and Father von Doss. On the other hand, the world to which I really belonged was being more and more revealed to me. And my love for my cousin

* Cf. my book, *Rom und das Zentrum*. Leipzig, Breitkopf und Härtel.

found plentiful scope at Bonn, where she often stayed with her grandmother, while her own home was not very far away.

I told my troubles to a friend who lived at Bonn, Baron Karl von Boeselager; but I had fallen from the frying-pan into the fire. He had himself formed the resolution, which he soon carried out, of joining the Jesuits, and he brought the whole strength of a temperament, saturated with mysticism, to bear on my irresolution, discoursing for hours through the continuous smoke of his long pipe on the duty of "despising the world and its vanities" and "following the inward call."

The events of that period also helped to force me irresistibly towards the Jesuits. The "Jesuit law" of July, 1872, had expelled the Order from Germany. This served to heighten the enthusiasm of Catholic circles, and, with the fate that seemed to pursue me, it was my family in particular that was drawn more closely to the Order through its expulsion.

In Holland, close to the German frontier, my father owned an estate on which stood an ancient castle. Under the influence of the Jesuit Behrens, my mother succeeded, after many a hard contest, in persuading my father to hand over this castle of Blyenbeck as a permanent residence for the exiled "German" Jesuits. The announcement of this gift caused considerable sensation. In *Kladderadatsch*, the comic paper, there appeared a couplet —cutting indeed, yet true.

"O Count, the news has reached me, be sure my words will fit:
Easy enough to get them, but hard to make them quit."

If in the past the Jesuits had been frequent visitors at our house, there was no end now to their coming and going. Their entrance into Blyenbeck was celebrated with

the greatest solemnity. The Superior, Father Oswald, was escorted by my parents in a four-horse carriage, and on their arrival ceremonial addresses were exchanged, in which unlimited gratitude alternated with unlimited appreciation.

We grown-up children, who were present at the ceremonies, were greatly impressed. Indeed, regarded superficially, they had a pathetic element: a group of men, who had hitherto lived quietly and peacefully, in Germany, apparently devoted solely to works of piety, is "driven into exile." Pity and admiration are strong motive powers, and they impelled me too to abide by my resolve, in spite of all repugnance. But even then I could not make up my mind to take the decisive step.

The immediate result in our family of the expulsion of the Jesuits was that our domestic chaplain, in spite of the illegality, was always a Jesuit. Fathers Hausherr, Kohlschreiber, Platzweg, Meier and others succeeded one another in this office. In particular, Father Hausherr, a hideous Swiss, acquired considerable influence over us all, and literally justified his name (Master of the House).

My spiritual agitation was increased this year by a stay with Father von Doss, who had invited me to visit him in his "exile." His place of exile was the lovely little country seat, Marxheim, near Hofheim, on one of the heights of the Taunus, belonging to the widowed Princess Alexander zu Solms-Braunfels, a kinswoman of mine, who entertained him here in the character of her spiritual director.

All through one hot summer night till dawn of day the Jesuit and I sat together in the garden. The eloquence of his ascetic discourse struck upon my already burdened conscience with the force of blows from a hammer. Again and again he shouted in my ears, "It is the devil who

is holding you back"; and he described the personality of the evil one and his presence near me in such vivid colours that I seemed almost to see him before me that night and indeed long afterwards.

Crushed in spirit, I returned to Bonn, but even then I did not enter the novitiate.

The summer term drew to an end. I spent a sad vacation, for the cousin to whom I had given my heart was about to enter a convent. I could not bear to be in the vicinity. In order to be further away at such a time, I went to stay with my sister, Marie Stolberg, in Saxony, and thence to Upper Silesia, to one of my relations, Count Praschma. But I was removed from her in place alone. I could not shake off the two thoughts so closely intermingled: End of my love; Entrance in the Order.

On the return journey I narrowly escaped death a second time. One circumstance connected with the occurrence is worth mentioning.

I was returning by the quickest express, which at that time left Berlin at midday, and reached Cologne soon after 9 o'clock. I had taken a seat in a first class compartment in the front part of a carriage, but suddenly an inexplicable feeling came upon me which impelled me to seek another seat in the middle of the carriage. Near the station of Berge-Borbeck our train was derailed when going at full speed, and three persons were killed and several injured. The compartment where I had been at first was telescoped; the middle compartment, in which I was seated, resisted the shock and I came off unhurt.

At that time I regarded the sensation, which impelled me before starting to change my place for another, as a warning of "Divine Providence." I shall have occasion later to explain in some detail my present conception of

God and Providence, but as to this particular occurrence I will say this:

If the sensation that saved me was really sent by Divine Providence, then God saved me, in order that, after a hard life in the Romish Church and Jesuit Order, I should emerge as a bitter foe, well equipped by my knowledge to attack both institutions. In that case I was, as it were, predestined by the special protection of God to my life work: the fight against Ultramontanism and Jesuitism, since foreseeing this, He approved it. Else, why should God, who from the Catholic point of view foresaw the road I should travel, have saved me in this wondrous fashion if He did not approve of this appointed road? Would it not otherwise have been barbarous cruelty to prevent my "good" death by a miracle and so direct me towards the path of "evil"?

Ultramontane believers may explain this awkward dilemma as they please. I can only say:

> "There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,
> Than are dreamt of in your philosophy."

I did not wish to return to Bonn, for it was connected with too many memories, and my next choice fell on Göttingen. It was not easy to obtain the consent of my parents to attendance at a University in Protestant surroundings. But if I had hoped that the change of scene would give a different direction to my thoughts, I was doomed to disappointment.

Though love for my cousin was no longer lawful, since it would be a sin to love a nun, she was ever before me as a shining example, admonishing and calling me. She had taken the great step. Surely, it was cowardice that kept me from following her! Was I justified in continuing to lead a life of comfort and pleasure, while she spent an existence in self-chosen poverty and abnegation?

As the result of these meditations, my student days at Göttingen, when I was but twenty, were spent as in a convent. This may have been advantageous for my studies, for I was most regular in my attendance at the lectures of my professors, Ihering, Mejer, Waitz, Frensdorff, but it was bad for my character. I no longer stood on my own feet, nor thought my own thoughts, but those of others.

The death of my father during my residence at Göttingen was a severe blow. He was listening to a letter from my sister Marie, informing him of the hopeless illness of her husband, and with the cry, "The poor child!" fell back paralysed. His stern manner cloaked a most loving heart. He lay unconscious for nine days, and passed away peacefully on the 19th of December, 1874, just twenty-nine years before my mother.

This event served to deepen the melancholy and dissatisfaction which had settled on my young life. A few months later, in March, 1875, I lost my sister Antonia, who had in the previous April married Count Franz Xavier Korff-Schmising-Kerssenbrock. The tragic death of mother and child, after one year of marriage, left deep traces on my religious life.

Just before her confinement, which was to prove fatal, I had been spending the Easter vacation at home. The news from her made us increasingly anxious, and my mother set out at once. As became a true member of our family, I had recourse to the Madonna of Kevelaer. From my earliest childhood I had been accustomed to carry all my troubles there. For nine days, the period of a "novena," I went on foot every morning to Kevelaer and back—two hours each way—and prayed to the miraculous image for my sister's recovery. On the ninth day, when I entered the courtyard on my return from

Kevelaer, the telegraph boy entered from the opposite side. He handed me a telegram from my brother-in-law. Mother and child were dead!

Like a blow from a mighty hammer on some carefully guarded shrine this news descended on my heart. The impression of it has never been quite effaced. From that time I have regarded the miraculous image at Kevelaer with a sort of horror. Try as I would, I could not escape the thought of a fetish with neither feeling nor pity.

Even a journey to Lourdes, undertaken in August of the same year with my sister Marie and her husband, who led the first German pilgrimage to that spot, could not avail to restore my old veneration for the Madonna. It had received a blow whose effects were permanent.

The deaths of my father and sister, following one another so closely, once more impressed on my mind the transitoriness and vanity of earthly things, and confirmed the resolve previously taken to leave the world. There was scarcely an event of importance which did not seem to emphasise the admonition: Forsake the world, and enter the Jesuit Order.

In the summer of 1875 I went from Göttingen to offer myself for one year's military service with the First Regiment of Dragoon Guards at Berlin. I was rejected as "permanently disqualified." The reason was this.

Like every good Prussian, I was most anxious to serve. My mother opposed, not from anti-Prussian sentiments, but out of fear for my health. The serious illness of her daughter Marie, the death of three children (Lothar, Adrian and Antonia), and of my father in 1874, had increased her anxiety for the life of the rest. Her cousin, General von Loë, afterwards Field-Marshal, at that time commanded the Horse-Guards Brigade in Berlin. The idea of serving with one of his crack regiments attracted

me, but it enabled my anxious mother to write to Walther Loë, begging him to do everything in his power to prevent my admission. And strange as it may seem, he granted her request. He received me with the words: "No, Paul, we are not going to have you; your mother does not wish it." He sent me with a sealed letter to the medical officer, Böger, the private physician of William I. Böger sent me to the regimental doctor with the diagnosis "consumptive." Even in the barracks my mother's opposition and my cousin's influence had their effect. The Colonel, whose name I have forgotten, said, when I presented myself before him: "No, my dear Count, I am afraid it can't be done." He took me himself to the regimental doctor, and left me to be examined with the comment: "You will find him disqualified." The examination was a long one, and I could not help seeing how hard the good fellow found it to testify to my "permanent disqualification." But he dared not act in opposition to the chief army medical officer, the Brigadier-General and the Commander of the regiment. Only long afterwards did it dawn on me that these proceedings were wrong. At that time my only feeling was of vexation that I could not enter the First Dragoon Guards. A year's service in Berlin would probably have turned my thoughts in another direction; the strict discipline and the social requirements might have cured my inner indecision and my shrinking from the "world." But it was not to be.

CHAPTER IX

THE INTERVENING YEARS

LOURDES AND THE *KULTURKAMPF*

THE most fateful event in ecclesiastical politics of the nineteenth century, which will doubtless continue during the twentieth to exercise a pernicious influence on creeds and religion, the "Struggle with Rome" (*Kulturkampf*) made the deepest impression on my mind and thoughts.

If anyone had sought to breathe new life into German Ultramontanism and fuse the German Catholics into a political party strong enough to withstand the onslaught of decades, he could have imagined no more effective procedure than the *Kulturkampf* as conducted under Bismarck's ægis.

Ignorance of the nature of the Catholic religion and Ultramontanism, and of the difference between the two, had induced this great man, in spite of his great intellect, to adopt measures which produced results the very opposite of those he desired to attain. Instead of weakening Ultramontanism and excluding it from the political and religious life of the new German Empire, he helped to increase the power of this worst foe of religion, and to fuse it more closely than before with the Catholic faith which it had so grievously abused.

For every one of the prohibitory laws struck not so much at Ultramontanism as at the Catholic religion, thus wounding most deeply the religious feelings of the Catholics, who thought, often correctly, that their most sacred

doctrines were being attacked. The result was an opposition which sent the State "to Canossa" and created the Centre party.

I do not propose here to discuss the *Kulturkampf* from the aspect of Church politics. I have dealt sufficiently with this in two other books,* and have shown how a right and necessary struggle with the Church should be conducted. In this place I am dealing with the particular conflict, and its religious effect on myself.

The effect then was to arouse to new life all the ultramontane tendencies that had become mine through inheritance and education.

I saw bishops sent to prison because they refused to accept their deposition from the State; I saw priests persecuted and punished like criminals because they brought to the sick and dying the consolations of their religion, or buried the dead with the rites of the Church; I saw police officers and gendarmes force their way into churches and drag priests from the altar in their sacred vestments, because they were celebrating Mass; I saw that which in Catholic eyes is the most sacred of all things, the consecrated host, thrown roughly and violently out of the tabernacle by non-Catholic officials.

Sights like these were calculated to inspire my religious heart with frantic devotion for a religion attacked with such amazing folly and brutality.

Nor was it long before the opportunity offered for giving outward expression to my devotion. Our house had become the hiding-place for persecuted priests, who, at dead of night, disguised as peasants, performed the religious offices prohibited by the police. I used to drive them across country by unfrequented roads, and often my swift ponies enabled them to escape from the pursuing

* *Moderner Staat und römische Kirche* (Berlin, C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn); *Rom und das Zentrum* (Leipzig, Breitkopf und Härtel).

gendarmes. For a long time the Suffragan Bishop of Posen, Dr. Janiszewski, who had suffered "deposition"* and imprisonment, was in hiding at our house. My brother and I used to attend him during his walks, to protect him against possible dangers in the shape of police. Another "deposed" bishop, Dr. Martin, of Paderborn, was interned in the fortress of Wesel, at no great distance from our home. He managed to send us word by the pastor of Guelders that he should escape on a certain night, and hoped for our assistance. My eldest brother and I set out by two different roads to meet him, and my brother, who found him, took him across the Dutch frontier.

At Cologne I myself was a witness of the arrest of Archbishop Melchers and heard the many-headed multitude sing as an accompaniment to the abominable conduct of the police, the beautiful hymn, "*Wir sind im wahren Christentum, Herr Gott, dir glauben wir.*" A few days after I saw the Archbishop in his cell and read in the prison register, among thieves and rogues, the entry: "Melchers, Paul, Dr.—basket-maker."

No wonder that a time that provided such experiences should have turned my mind again to spiritual instead of temporal things. The self-sacrifice of priests and bishops, which was ever before my eyes, was a constant admonition to me not to forget the sacrifice which I, too, owed to God.

In my gloomy ascetic mood, caused by the death of my father and sister and the exciting religious experiences of the *Kulturkampf*, I was only too ready to join a German pilgrimage which my sister Marie and her husband were conducting to Lourdes in August, 1875.

* It is impossible to say how absurd State deposition of a bishop appears in the eyes of Catholics. What extraordinary ignorance prevailed at that time among the Berlin law-manufacturers! However, the same ignorance still exists there.

At that time Lourdes was at the height of its reputation as a sanctuary of the Madonna, a position which it unfortunately still retains.

In 1858 the Mother of God had appeared eighteen times to a peasant maiden, Bernadotte Soubirous, in a rocky grotto, near Lourdes, and announced herself as the "immaculate conception" (*Je suis l'immaculée conception*). At this spot there rose a spring, which soon acquired such volume that it now supplies 122 cubic metres of water a day, and fills nine baths for the sick. Provided with an apparition, a spring and miraculous cures, it was fully equipped as a place of pilgrimage. Thousands of the faithful (millions indeed now) flocked to Lourdes from every country. Three Popes, Pius IX., Leo XIII., and Pius X., gave their sanction to the proceedings. A decree of the Ritual Congregation of the 13th November, 1907, appointed the festival of the "Apparition of the Blessed and Immaculate Virgin Mary" to be celebrated by the whole Church, with a special Mass and office, so that it might almost be said that the Church itself had pronounced its infallible judgment on the genuineness of the Lourdes apparitions.*

The days we spent at Lourdes were characterised by a sort of religious frenzy. Mass suggestion, conspicuous even at German places of pilgrimage, holds sovereign sway at Lourdes. It is impossible for any faithful Catholic to resist the exciting influences which saturate the atmosphere there. In that glorious Pyrenean setting, the religious frenzy raging day and night in front of the miraculous grotto, throughout the splendid basilica and in the streets of the town, amid the roar and rush of singing and praying

* How great a source of income the Romish Church derives from the great centres of pilgrimage is shown by the Lourdes balance-sheet for 1907–8: Sale of consecrated tapers, 107,500 francs; sale of devotional objects (rosaries, medals, etc.), 500,000 francs; mass stipends, 2,500,000 francs; sale of miraculous water, 140,000 francs.

multitudes, has an intoxicating effect, which crushes down every attempt at calm reflection. Add to this the loud raptures of those who have found healing, the laments of those who seek it, the open confession of sins and reiteration of their desires as the pilgrims strike their brows against the sacred rock, and the sick plunge full of confidence into the icy cold water.

If, with my changed ideas of God and religion, I were now to return to Lourdes, I should not fail to notice the pathological side of the spectacle, but at that time it was only its religious aspect that I saw, heard, and felt.

I, too, had gone a pilgrimage to seek for healing. I hoped there to cure what I held to be the weakness and cowardice of my will, which held me back from entering the Order. And I did in fact, on my return from Lourdes, present myself to the Superior of the German province, Father Hövel, and ask to be admitted; I even entered the novitiate house at Exaeten, spent a few days there as a postulant, and then left it.

Lourdes had acted as a spur to my resisting nature. When the effect was over, I felt the old resistance. I would not, I could not.

Of my short stay at Exaeten at that time there is nothing to tell. All the more important is the period that elapsed before my final admission.

Many a sorrowful experience darkened my young life, but the saddest of all were those of the years 1876–78.

My few days spent at Exaeten as postulant produced effects which weighed down my whole being with unutterable torment. To these inward tortures were added a succession of sorrowful events. And all this suffering and all these sorrows were calculated to urge a nature already bound and fettered towards the one goal that had been placed before me since my childhood, of which I had

never really lost sight, although my whole being shrank from it in terror.

A man who has crossed the threshold of an Order and withdrawn his foot, no matter how quickly, is regarded in ultramontane circles as anathema. He bears a stigma, for has he not rejected one of the greatest "graces" of God, and is not his soul in danger?

Since every ultramontane family esteems it the highest honour to have a son or daughter admitted to an Order, it is a corresponding disgrace if they desert the Order. I could give many instances of this disastrous fact. This is why many young men and women prefer to drag on a miserable existence in an Order rather than return to their families and become useful members of society. For they know they will meet with contempt. And it is this fear that keeps them from shaking off the unendurable, almost inhuman yoke.

In later years my duties as Director of Exercises and Confessor, especially in nunneries, gave me an appalling insight into this ultramontane curse. I saw beings who were destined for freedom and self-government, writhing in the fetters of ultramontane prejudice, fixing longing eyes on the gate of freedom, yet shrinking back from the brand of ultramontane contempt.

An old, grey-haired nun, who for many years had been Superior of her convent, once in a moment of confidence said to me, in a voice broken with tears and emotion: "For thirty-eight years I have done my duty like a slave in fetters; I have no conception of the meaning of happiness. Alas!" she cried, wringing her hands, "would I had had the courage to retreat long years ago. But I dared not face the contempt that awaited me."

I knew too well what I had to expect when in October, 1875, I left Exaeten after a short residence. And, indeed, my expectations were more than fulfilled. My vocation

had been "certain"; confessors and directors had all felt sure of my calling. It is impossible to say what I suffered from their pitying contempt. Nor could I blame them. My own point of view was theirs; and I regarded the Order as the state of perfection; I had been called to it; I was unfaithful and a tempter of God.

Now began a period of most painful humiliation and self-suppression. I accepted the contempt as a penance for my faithlessness; I waged a deadly fight against my own better judgment. It would be impossible to imagine a condition of more painful and cruel vacillation than I endured in the winter of 1875–6.

Had I only been inwardly free, as I was sixteen years later, when I broke through the chains of the Order! But I was a thrall in the bonds of Ultramontanism, a slave to all its prejudices. And worst of all, my chief tormentors were the two whom I loved most in the world: my mother and my sister Marie Stolberg. With well-intentioned but pitiless cruelty they dwelt in words and letters on the depth of my "fall."

It was in this mental condition that in January, 1876, I resumed my legal studies, first till the end of the winter half-year at Würzburg, and then at Göttingen for the summer term. In the autumn of 1876 I passed my first law examination at Cologne. I did not, however, wish to take a State appointment just then. I was eager to get away, to see and hear something new, and an opportunity for travelling offered.

My sister Marie had been unfortunate in her marriage. Both she and her husband had fallen ill soon after. By the doctor's advice they had gone to Algiers in the autumn of 1876. Accordingly, Algiers was chosen as our first stopping-place when I set out for some months' travel with my brother Wilhelm and our cousin and friend, Count Paul Wolff-Metternich (later, German Ambassador

in London). Our route lay through France, Portugal and Spain. We stayed some time at Algiers and made a number of hunting expeditions into the interior, returning home by Tunis, Sardinia, Naples, Rome, Bologna, and Florence.

This is not the place to speak of the many grand and beautiful impressions we received during this long tour, but I must refer to my stay in Rome, for here I was a pilgrim rather than a pleasure-seeker.

At Rome I experienced severe inner conflicts. My Christianity, in spite of all ultramontane tendencies, was based on my inner feelings. I was painfully impressed by the stress on externals so conspicuous at Rome, especially by the splendour of the Papal Court and the pomp that surrounded the Pope's person.

We had no lack of introductions. In particular, Cardinal Ledochowski and the Papal Minister of War—imagine the "Vicar of Christ" with a War Minister!—took an interest in me. I was allowed to assist at a more detailed conversation, which the Pope usually held at the conclusion of general audiences with his own immediate suite and a few privileged strangers in his private library.

The external appearance of Pius IX., at that time at a very advanced age, was unattractive. He was small and stunted, with a puffy face and weak features, his mouth was half open, and on his nose, mouth and his white soutane there were evident traces of snuff. His gait, too, was ugly and undignified. But he was the "Vicar of Christ." This thought is enough for a believing Catholic; he cares neither for accidents and externals of the Papal personality, nor even for the irreconcilable contradictions between the princely Court of the Pope and his position as "Vicar of Christ."

Every Catholic who visits Rome is struck by these

contradictions, but dares not acknowledge them to himself; he feels the anomaly, but the religious inheritance of over fifteen hundred years, which is the birthright of every Catholic, harmonises the discord and bridges over the rift. Nor was I an exception, and in spite of the painful impression made on me by the essentially un-Christian character of the Vatican, with its luxurious apartments and the Swiss and noble guards who surrounded the captive Pope-King, I, too, like all my associates in Rome, became an enthusiastic admirer of Pius. The outward expression of this enthusiasm was a disgusting purchase of relics.

When on a visit to the miraculous image of Mary "of enduring help" at the General House of the Redemptionists we were, in return for a contribution to the Convent funds, offered, as objects of veneration, articles of underclothing worn by Pius IX. These garments had been obtained from one of the Pope's servants. I gave 100 lire for a vest soaked with perspiration; an English friend bought a pair of unwashed stockings, and others purchased similar objects. Their value was enhanced by the circumstance that, being unwashed, they bore more of the personality of the Pope. Whether the Pope's vest was "genuine" or not I cannot tell; I did not receive a diploma of authenticity. Perhaps it was only the property of the haggling valet, or one of his fellow servants or some pious monk. I sent the relic—for the vest was dignified with this name—to my good sister Luise at the Convent of Tournay. And, doubtless, it still edifies the foolish, pious nuns. The fruits of ultramontane piety are often somewhat unsavoury, and it is a puzzle to all who have not grown up in this close atmosphere that intelligent and educated persons can take pleasure in them.

Far more important than my visit to the Pope was one to the Jesuit General, Father Peter Beckx. By a

curious coincidence I visited the *White Pope* in the morning and the *Black Pope* the same afternoon.

On my return from the Vatican I found awaiting me at the hotel the Jesuit Wertenberg, the spiritual confessor and director of the young Germanics, one of the many Jesuits who had formerly frequented our house. He informed me that the General of the Order, who had come to Rome for a few days from Fiesole, where at that time were the headquarters of the Order, would be glad to see me. I set out then and there, still wearing the dress clothes obligatory for the Papal audience, and a few minutes later was at the "German House" and in the General's presence. Our conversation was of an intimate character. I opened my heart to the old man, whose ascetic but kindly exterior won my confidence. He knew all about me, and his advice was that I should for the present enter the State service as *Referendar*. God, who clearly had destined me for other and greater things, would speak to me in His own time. Thus, without directly inviting me to join the Jesuits, he really made his indirect appeal the more pressing.

A third visit worthy of mention was to the Jesuit Cardinal Franzelin, who was regarded as the most distinguished theologian of the Order.

In consequence of the Prussian "May laws" the question was frequently raised in Ultramontane circles as to whether a Catholic was justified in taking the oath required of all officials in the State service. Since I proposed to enter it, this oath question was a burning one for me. My best plan seemed to be to consult Franzelin, and I received an answer characteristic of Jesuit principles: the oath might only be taken with the reservation that it did not apply to anti-Church laws (May laws). But as this was an obvious reservation for Catholics to make, it was unnecessary to give it outward expression, it would

be sufficient to formulate it inwardly. Indeed, the silent reservation was more advantageous, for the State would not admit to its service Catholics who expressed the reservation, and this would be injurious to the Church. If the State made a mistake in appointing officials who were unpledged to some of the laws, it was its own fault. For they knew well enough that no faithful Catholic would subscribe to laws hostile to the Church. If, therefore, the State disregarded the silent reservation, the injury it thus sustained was the result of its own "stupidity," and no one else could be blamed.

Equipped with this theory of reservation, I took the oath at Cleves soon after my return home. The "stupid" State, in the shape of the President of the Provincial Court of Cleves, did not observe my silent reservation and assigned me to the County Court at Guelders.

I was, however, prevented by serious family anxieties from any regular pursuit of my new profession. Contrary to medical expectation, my sister Marie was about to give birth to a child. This happy event was transformed into grievous sorrow. My sister had been growing weaker and weaker; her husband, too, had become worse, and his illness was telling on his mind. My mother, who thought it her duty to be with her child during her time of trial, resolved on taking the long journey to Algiers. I escorted her there, and came away with the impression that my sister would not survive her confinement.

In November, 1877, the child, a daughter, who received the African name Monica, was born. The condition of the mother, who had given the last remains of her strength to her infant, was from that time hopeless, and her life but suffering.

From Algiers I returned by way of Vienna, where

I acted as best man at the wedding of my brother Wilhelm and the Princess Eleonore Windisch-Grätz.

About this time the ultramontane world of Germany began to be excited by the apparitions of the "Mother of God" at Marpingen in the diocese of Trèves. The Virgin Mary had appeared to three school children, and at once Marpingen became a place of pilgrimage. It did not, however, continue so for long, as the gross deception, which actually came before the Courts, was soon discovered. But before the discovery the enthusiasm for Marpingen was tremendous. The highest ultramontane authorities vouched for the genuineness of the apparitions, in particular, Dr. Scheeben, Professor of Dogma at the Priestly Seminary of Cologne, late "Papal Theologian" to the Vatican Council, and the Jesuit, Meschler. Scheeben wrote pamphlets in favour of Marpingen, Meschler, S.J., published a laudation of the "Place of Grace" in the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, and, indeed, he is still the chief advocate of the Marian extravagances at Lourdes.*

My excellent mother was also seized by the Marpingen mania. She wrote, asking me to undertake a pilgrimage and beseech the Mother of God to restore my sister to health. I was only too ready. I first visited Professor Scheeben at Cologne, and he encouraged me in my resolve and gave me letters of introduction for Marpingen. There the "holy school children" promised to lay my request before the Mother of God, and conducted me to the place of apparition. I was not, however, allowed to witness an apparition, though these took place every day at a regular hour with absolute punctuality. Next day the children transmitted to me a message from the Madonna, to the effect that my sister would shortly be restored to health by the repetition of certain prayers. The instruc-

* *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, 1908, vol. x.

tions were duly carried out, and she died a few months later.

That an educated man of twenty-five, who has completed his university and legal studies, should be duped in this way, for a dupe indeed I was, would seem almost incredible, and probably I should be regarded by most people as a peculiarly susceptible subject. But in reality I was only a type of the faithful Ultramontane whose reason, when religion is in question, is completely obscured by the worst kind of delusion. A reference to the ultramontane literature of the day and its newspapers will show how completely all ultramontane circles were duped by the Marpingen swindle.

Not very long afterwards the disgusting pseudo-mystic Taxil hoax duped the whole ultramontane world, including bishops and Pope, for more than ten years. There is nothing too wild or grotesque for the credulity and veneration of a mind distorted and deformed by Ultramontanism. This was true a hundred years ago, and is true still. No amount of intelligence can save it from such illusions. Pseudo-mysticism and fetishism are too deeply rooted in brain and blood, though this fact is often forgotten in estimating the intellectual position of these circles.

On the 9th March, 1878, I received a telegram from my mother announcing the death of my brother-in-law. I brought his body home for burial from Algiers to his Saxon estate of Räckelwitz. The nights and days of that sad escort will never fade from my memory.

My mother accompanied her widowed daughter, with her child, first to San Remo, then to Vevey, and at each of these places I visited my dying sister.

From Vevey I paid a short visit to Rome. This was a pilgrimage on her behalf, for I hoped that prayers offered in the sacred places would save my sister's life.

With what fervour did I pray; how zealously I visited the holy places! Not a sanctuary did I leave unvisited. How many a time did I climb the Scala Santa at the Lateran on my knees, for only thus is it lawful to approach the stairs up which Christ was led to the judgment-seat of Pilate, and which now ranks as the "most sacred spot on earth," for here are kept a number of most precious relics, among them the "most holy foreskin of Christ."

At a private audience with Leo XIII. I besought the Vicar of Christ, whom I deemed to hold a special relation to God, to intercede for my sister. His consent filled me with joy, and gave me fresh hopes.

I feel no shame in making these confessions, for the pious follies of which I was guilty, and the superstitions to which I was a victim, sprang from the inheritance of centuries of convictions.

Kevelaer, La Salette, Lourdes, Marpingen, Rome, relics, scapulars, indulgences: all were links in the same chain of ultramontane Roman Catholic belief. At that time I believed it to be a golden chain that bound me to God and Christ, and I wore it with sincerity and conviction. And if at times the burden grew heavy, if even then my reason tried to shake it off and my natural human feelings suffered under the inhuman pressure, still my will, held fast by a thousand links to the authority of the Church, was always ready with a spurious asceticism to bring the required sacrifice of reason and feeling. Indeed, my will actually revelled in such self-suppression at times of inward and outward suffering. The harder the sacrifice the better, because the more pleasing to God.

Never, perhaps, was the joy in surrender stronger in me than during this stay in Rome and the remaining weeks of my sister's life.

On my way back from Rome I again met my sister at Frankfort-on-the-Main. She was travelling, with my

mother and her little infant of six months, in an ambulance from Vevey to Räckelwitz in Saxony. Here I also saw my cousin again for the first time since she took the veil. Being stationed at the Franciscan Convent at Frankfort, she came to the station to see her friend, my sister, for the last time. The sight of her renewed all the violence of my old love. But the storm of feeling was not to speed my vessel towards the ocean of earthly love, but now, as often before, to impel it towards the far-distant shores of eternity, which seemed then to me the only secure haven. "Flee from the world"; this was the cry that everything around me seemed to utter: the slow, lingering death of my sister, the young life of her little child so soon to be orphaned, and my cousin's monastic garb.

Animated by such thoughts, I spent the last sad weeks by my sister's dying bed. On the 23rd July she closed her eyes for ever, after a death struggle of four hours' duration, for her delicate, emaciated body still retained so much vitality.

Yet great as had been her sufferings during this whole period, mine were greater. She was the happier of us two, for her hard life lay behind her. I had lost all heart in life. All the torment of the last few months which had crushed me with overwhelming force, seemed a punishment from heaven for resisting the will of God, which had called me to the Jesuits. How often in the days before her death, when her voice was too weak for speech, did my sister whisper to me: "Paul, remember your vocation."

And I did remember it. Before my sister was laid under the earth I wrote to Father Hövel, the Provincial Superior, and asked to be admitted to the Jesuit Order. He appointed an interview, on which his decision was to depend. It took place in September. The result was

that on the 4th November I was to enter the novitiate house at Exaeten. I did not acquaint any of my relations, not even my mother, with my decision. On the 4th November I asked my brother, who was now master at our house, to lend me the carriage and pair for a drive to Venlo. I took the reins and let the swift Hungarians trot their fastest. Not a backward glance did I throw at the home where I was born and where my youth had been spent. Without a word of farewell, as though I were to return next day, I threw the reins to our old faithful coachman, Gerard, at the station, gave a last caressing pat to the steaming horses, and entered the train for Roermond, whence I reached Exaeten by carriage at half-past four. I pulled the bell, the gate was opened, and closed upon me.

It was fourteen years before it opened for me again. Even then it was not opened voluntarily. I struck it down with a blow, and so won my way to freedom.

CHAPTER X

POSTULANT AND NOVICE

THE porter—I think it must have been Brother Neissen, whose kind and dignified manner I have often since admired—conducted me to the small parlour and summoned the Rector of the House and Master of the Novices, Father Mauritius Meschler, who escorted me to the refectory, where coffee and bread were set before me. I was then handed over to his *Socius*, Father Stellbrink, who assigned me a tiny apartment and placed me under the charge of the novice, Karl Ebenhöch—Carissimus Ebenhöch, to give him the correct title. This is the form of address for all postulants and novices, till, after taking their first vow, they become scholastics and are addressed as "Brother." Not till he receives the priestly consecration does the Jesuit become a Father and Venerable. Lay brothers are always addressed as "Brother." Ebenhöch thus became my "guardian angel" (*angelus custos*) for the nine days of my postulancy. His office was to acquaint me with the daily routine, and in company with another constantly changing novice to accompany me on the obligatory daily walks and point out my blunders and mistakes. I was obliged to conform with his directions.

The third person whose acquaintance I made the same evening was the *Manuductor* of the Novice Master, Brother Emele, a lay brother, who, under the supervision of the Novice Master and his *Socius*, directs the postulants and novices in the domestic duties and offices which they have to perform.

I was now a "postulant" of the Society of Jesus. I had entered the forecourt of the Order. I shall therefore say a few introductory words about it.

The Ultramontane Catholic Church classifies Christians in a way unknown to the Gospels and the early Christian Church. They are differentiated, according to aims and means, into laity, priesthood, and monastic orders.

The layman stands on the lowest step. He ranges over the broad plains of religion and ethics. He, too, can attain perfection and holiness; but the means and methods of attainment are the ordinary ones, comprised in the Ten Commandments and the commands of the Church.

Even the priest is only superior to the layman by his authority and his mystical sacramental functions (*potestas ordinis et jurisdictionis*); he has no superior moral and religious obligations; for in regard to priestly celibacy, even the most extreme Ultramontane dogmatist is compelled by honesty to acknowledge that it is a disciplinary institution of human origin which has gradually established itself—not a divine and essential institution.

The culminating point of religion and morality is represented by the Orders; for their members are compelled, under pain of deadly sin, to strive after a perfection, for the attainment of which observance of the Gospel counsels takes precedence even of the commandments.*

In general the Orders are a divine institution; in particular, *i.e.* in the forms they assume in the special Orders, such as the Dominican and Franciscan, they are of ecclesiastical human origin.

* As a matter of fact, Ultramontane dogmatism has invented another state of perfection theoretically higher even than that of the Orders—*i.e.* the Bishops. The Orders aim at perfection: the Bishops are supposed to have attained it. Theirs is the *status perfectionis acquisitae*, as contrasted with the *status perfectionis acquirendae*. Of course, this nice distinction has no real value, since history, which tells of more imperfect than perfect bishops, has pronounced final judgment in the matter.

The essentials of an Order are the three vows of Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience. These are the signs of a higher perfection proclaimed by Christ in the Gospel counsels. By their vow to follow these counsels members win admission to an Order and undertake to regulate their lives according to certain ascetic and religious principles.

There are two kinds of vows, simple and solemn (*vota simplicia et solemnia*). Solemn vows are so called, not from any outward solemnity, but from their solemn acceptance by the Church in the person of the Superior or some other ecclesiastic. Only the Pope can dispense from solemn vows, and these form an insuperable obstacle (*impedimentum dirimens*) to marriage. The Superior can absolve from simple vows; they are hindering obstacles (*impedimenta impedientia*) to marriage, making it unlawful, but not impossible.

The path which leads to the Order is the "grace of vocation," which is made manifest in the Choice of Vocation.

This is in quintessence the Ultramontane doctrine of the Orders. It has no connection with Christ's teaching, which knows no vows of poverty, obedience, and chastity, and ordains no Orders. And if His counsels are to be made the basis of a definite mode of life aiming at special perfection, why should we pass by other counsels emphasised quite as strongly as those of poverty and chastity, not to speak of obedience, of which, as required from members of an Order, there is not the slightest indication in the words of Christ?

The counsel of poverty, on which the vow of poverty is based, is derived by Ultramontanism from Christ's words to the young man with many possessions: "If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven;

and come and follow Me." But if we bear in mind that in the Sermon on the Mount Christ set up a standard of the highest religious morality for all men, and ended His exhortation with the universal admonition, "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect," there is no reason to suppose that the advice to the rich young man referred to a special perfection not meant for all, though Christ Himself does distinguish between the commandments necessary for "entrance into life" and perfection. In the Sermon on the Mount, which sums up His ethical code, He makes no such distinctions; there "perfection" and the "commandments" are on the same footing.

Let us suppose, however, the counsel of poverty to be valid. Is it really observed by the Orders? In how far do they obey the command, "Sell that thou hast, and give to the poor"? The Orders—*i.e.* the communities consisting of the individual members—are wealthy.* But ought not the rule imposed on the individual to be valid for the community?

To the objection that poverty is impossible for a community, which must own property in order to secure its existence, we can only reply that it is also impossible for the individual aspirant after perfection, and Christ's

* The balancing of accounts between Church and State in France has afforded an opportunity for obtaining official statistics of the property of the French Orders and Congregations. Here are some of the figures:—Sisters of Mercy, 7,700,000 francs; Sisters of Kindly Aid, 3,919,000 francs; Sisters of Providence, 6,121,000 francs; Sisters of St. Andrew, 6,892,000 francs; Sisters of St. Maurus, 7,775,000 francs; Sisters of Our Dear Lady of Mercy, 8,603,000 rancs; Sisters of St. Charles, 10,778,000 francs; Daughters of Wisdom, 13,759,000 rancs; Little Sisters of the Poor, 27,084,000 francs; Sisters of the Sacred Heart, 32,584,000 francs; Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul, 63,680,000 francs; Brothers of the Sacred Heart, 3,265,000 francs; Dominicans, 3,280,000 francs; Eudists, 3,470,000 francs; Franciscans, 3,829,000 francs; Brothers of St. Gabriel, 4,141,000 rancs; Capucins, 4,778,000 francs; Carthusians, 5,390,000 francs; Marists, 6,593,000 francs; Marianists, 10,860,000 francs; Trappists, 11,127,000 francs; Jesuits, 48,325,000 francs.—Simon, *De l'Exploitation des Dogmes* (Paris, 1907), p. 78 *et seq.*

injunction is given to all men. He too must have possessions.

Christ's exhortation to the young man is one of the many sayings which must be interpreted according to their spirit rather than by the Oriental hyperbolical form of the expression. It bids us aspire to a higher life; it urges us to rise above the commonplace to the full extent of our powers.

Similarly the vow of chastity stands on an infirm base. It is founded on the words of Matthew xix. 12:

"For there are some eunuchs, which were so born from their mother's womb; and there are some eunuchs, which were made eunuchs of men; and there be eunuchs, which have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake. He that is able to receive it, let him receive it."

Here the allusion is only to the celibacy of men (eunuchs), so that there is no foundation in Christ's teaching for the celibacy of women, and consequently no general exhortation to this means of perfection. Far more important, however, is the circumstance that Christ only refers to an existing state of things—"There are some eunuchs" (among whom He doubtless classed Himself in the first instance)—and delivers no commandment or counsel for the future. Nor is this affected by the concluding words, "He that is able to receive it, let him receive it." These are necessitated by the novelty and strangeness of the fact emphasised, which He doubtless intended His hearers to realise in themselves.*

A state of celibacy based on vows is unknown in Christ's teaching.

But the untenability of the theory of an Order based

* It is equally inadmissible to apply the words of St. Paul, in chap. 7 of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, to the ultramontane theories of Orders and celibacy. *Cf.* my work, *Das Papsttum*, etc., II., 4., 482, 1.

on the three counsels—Poverty, Chastity, Obedience—is not fully realised till it is compared with the other Gospel counsels already cited.

No one would deny that the Sermon on the Mount embodies the religious and moral code of Christ; for there on the mountain top He unfurled the standard which all, without exception, may follow. Of this the introductory and concluding words leave no room for doubt.

"And seeing the multitudes, He went up into a mountain: and when He was set, His disciples came unto Him: and He opened His mouth, and taught them, saying. . . . and it came to pass, when Jesus had ended these sayings, the people were astonished at His doctrine: for He taught them as one having authority."

In the Sermon on the Mount, then, we find a number of commands far more emphatically laid down as counsels of perfection than any of the three "Gospel counsels" of the Order. Why, then, should we adhere solely to these three, which in reality are not the counsels of Christ at all? Why are the Orders not based on the Sermon on the Mount, which Christ Himself so evidently regarded as the foundation-stone of His teaching? For there we read:

"But I say unto you, Swear not at all. . . . Let your communication be, Yea, yea; Nay, nay. . . . I say unto you . . . whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also. And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain."

Is there any passage in which Christ exhorts to poverty, chastity, obedience, with the emphasis that He lays on these commands? Yet the basis of the Orders is not sought in the Sermon on the Mount with its emphatic "I say unto you," but in the Gospel counsels which were never given by Christ.

Here is the reason of this startling fact. On the basis of poverty—*i.e.* communistic poverty—chastity: *i.e.* celibacy, obedience: *i.e.* blind submission—it is possible to build up strong communities, directed from a central authority. With the Sermon on the Mount this is impossible. That is why poverty, chastity, obedience have gradually been transformed by the Romish Church into Gospel counsels, and built up into a system of ecclesiastical orders.

But in that case, it may be objected, how is it that every year thousands of postulants knock at the convent gates and seek admission? Surely these thousands read the Scriptures?

They do, no doubt, although, as I have already shown, the majority have little accurate knowledge of the Bible. But it is not this or that text which drives men into convents. The motive power is general religious idealism, which, misled by inherited and acquired prejudices, hopes to find in the Order the satisfaction of its desires.

The natural idealism of the human heart has been fanned to a mighty flame by Christianity. The exhortation, "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect," a command gloriously realised in Christ's own life, has sufficed in the course of centuries to raise countless mortals above the things of earth. Mystically transfigured vistas of the life beyond, illumined by the suns of eternity, have driven mighty hosts to seize the pilgrim's staff, and amid self-sacrifice and renunciation, with boundless devotion, burning enthusiasm, all-consuming yearning for sacrifice and humble endurance, to wander along the narrow path to those heights where man may meet with God.

This Christian idealism has been, and still is, a mighty force in Catholic Christianity, in spite of the rank overgrowth of the human, all too human. Hence springs the

impulse which drives youth and maidens, men, women, and even the aged, into the Orders. It is not so much the desire to shun the world and renounce life, because life brings no joy, which leads these thousands to take the vow of Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience, as a high-hearted desire for life, but a life which takes as its standard the words:

"I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me; and the life which I now live in the flesh I live by the faith of the Son of God, Who loved me and gave Himself for me" (Gal. ii. 20).

I do not hesitate to say that the convent gates open to an infinite amount of pure love of God and Christ and most heroic renunciation. Nay more, I maintain that this stream of Christian idealism flows stronger and fuller in the Ultramontane Catholic community than in any other. For the Ultramontane Catholic too is in the first instance a human being, and desires to be a Christian, which means that he too has a heart that conceals within it the shining heights and purple depths of humanity and Christianity. But it is only Ultramontane Catholicism which can place before his bodily eyes the fulfilment of his longings, by pointing to the convents, from which he seems to hear the words: "I am the way, the truth, and the life."

No matter that this is error and deception. For how much human idealism rests on error and deception! Nor do they serve to check the stream of aspirants to monasticism, since of 10,000 candidates scarce one recognises the error.

The belief that membership of an Order is the highest grade of Christian life is so deeply rooted in Ultramontane circles that no one ever thinks of doubting it. For has it not been planted and nurtured there by the infallible authority of the Church?

The stream of Catholic idealism continues, therefore, to flow to the convents, which grow and expand and yet can scarcely contain the multitude, although nothing could be more opposed to the essentially individualist, even atomistic nature of Christianity than the piety and discipline of the Orders, with their barrack-like regulations determining everything to the minute and the letter.

Of course, there is a reverse to this medal. For the idealism which sends these hosts over the convent thresholds, gradually perishes during the years of conventual life, and is replaced in countless thousands by disenchantment, disappointment, repugnance, all the helpless misery of a truth realised too late. Were it not so hard to leave a convent, were not most of the inmates aware that their departure would leave them without a livelihood or a future, incapable of providing a new occupation for themselves and despised by their companions for their fall from the grace of vocation—but for all this the stream that flows into the convents would, in the course of years, begin to flow backward. The mental misery in the convents is widespread and terrible; idealism has been transformed into pessimism and hopeless compulsion. Human nature and Christian idealism cannot be permanently enslaved and misled with impunity.

There are few to whom it is granted to escape from the yoke and the false guidance. The rest endure dumbly the unspeakable misery of a life that has missed its purpose. Many an example did I meet with in my capacity of confessor and director of Exercises, as I shall have occasion to show later.

But at first, before the dawning of recognition, the fountain of idealism which springs within convent walls flows and gushes from as clear and noble a source as could be found nowhere else in the world.

In such a stream of idealism I, too, was a drop, when my foot crossed the threshold of the Jesuit novitiate house.

POSTULANCY AND NOVITIATE

Before entering the novitiate the preliminary stage of postulancy must be passed. According to the Constitutions,* this may last from twelve to fourteen days, or even longer. The postulant, who is regarded as a guest (*hospitum more*) is kept apart from the rest of the inmates, and continues to wear his own clothes, but shares in the religious and other observances of the novices.

Before becoming a postulant the new-comer is examined by three fathers delegated by the Superior of the House, or by the Provincial himself, on the following points: 1. Whether he has ever been a heretic or schismatic, or excommunicated. 2. Whether he has committed a murder, or has been "infamous" in the legal sense of the word. 3. Whether he has already belonged to any other Order. 4. Whether he has been married—*i.e.* has consummated the act of marriage—or whether he has been a slave or vassal of another man. 5. Whether he suffers from any infirmity which might cause mental weakness.†

If he gives an affirmative answer to any of these questions, the examination is at an end, for these constitute the five impediments which render entrance into the Society impossible. A sixth impediment, Jewish origin, was added later. But the General of the Order can dispense from all.

If the postulant labours under none of these impediments, the examination is continued.

He is now asked whether he is of legitimate birth;

* *Exam. gen.*, I., 13.
† *Ibid.*, II., 2–5.

how long his forefathers have been Christians; whether any of them committed any religious error; the names and circumstances of his father and mother; whether he has any debts; whether he has to support parents or any other relations; and whether he is willing to leave the manner of his own support to the judgment of his future Superior; the number of his brothers and sisters; whether he has ever by any utterance pledged himself to marriage; whether he has or has had children; whether he has acquired any mechanical art; whether he can read and write; whether he has any secret or apparent disease (in particular any complaint of stomach or head, or any other bodily imperfection); whether he has received any clerical ordination, or is bound by any vow—*e.g.* to undertake a pilgrimage; how he has been disposed from youth upward towards spiritual things, in particular towards prayer; how often he was wont to pray by day and night, at what hours, in what posture, in what words, and with what degree of devotion; what is his attitude towards the Mass, sermons, and meditation; whether he approves opinions contrary to those customary in the Church, and, if so, whether he is prepared to make his submission; whether in case of scruples or religious difficulties he is willing to submit to the judgment of the members of the Society who are appointed to decide such matters; whether he is fully determined to leave the world and follow the counsels of Christ given in the Gospels; how long he has cherished the resolve; whether he desires to carry it out in the Society of Jesus; whether anyone in the Society has induced him to enter it, in which case he is advised to postpone his entrance for a while.*

The *Declaratio* adds that the postulant is compelled to answer truthfully, under pain of sin (*ad peccatum*),

* *Exam. gen.*, III., 2–14.

from which he can only be absolved by the person who puts the questions.

Rule 6 for the Examiner is interesting in its Jesuitical craftiness.

"Those who desire admission must, above all, be duly questioned as to the five essential impediments; but this must be carefully done, so that they may not recognise that they are impediments which exclude from the Society, and may not, on that account, be impelled to conceal the truth."*

Besides these, other and more important questions are put, which are not mentioned in the Constitutions. These refer to the seventh commandment: whether any sin against chastity has been committed and of what nature, especially if any bad habits have been acquired. Generally, the Superior reserves to himself this part of the examination, or determines which of the three examiners is to set these awkward questions.

As a rule, the examination does not take place immediately before admission, but some time earlier. This was my case too.

One of my examiners was Pachtler, whom I have already mentioned as a collaborator in the *Monumenta Germaniae paedagogica*. At that time he was stationed at Exaeten as a *scriptor*, the title given to the literary Jesuits, and engaged in writing articles and books against Freemasonry and Liberalism, which were quite a match for the absurdities of his Italian colleague, Bresciani, whose works occupy an honoured place in Jesuit school libraries.

It was Meschler who addressed the secret questions to me, and his examination revealed to me some of the unnaturalness of the Jesuit system; but the points raised were too intimate to deal with here. I do not, how-

* *Instit. Societ. Jesu*, Romae. 1870, II., 130.

ever, wish to throw any doubt on the subjective morality of the examining Jesuit. His questions and doubts were such as the education of the Order and its moral-theological routine had taught him to set. I felt ignorant and uncertain how to answer them, and it was only many years later, when I had myself to study moral theology within the Order, to prepare for hearing confessions, that I came to understand the questions and doubts which the Novice-Master of the German Province had placed before me when a postulant. I mention this circumstance because it shows how easily idealism and firm faith in the moral excellence of the Order enable Ultramontane Catholics to disregard obstacles which, under other circumstances, would arouse in them the most serious scruples.

It is customary for candidates to wear their own clothes during the probationary days, and so, of course, I wore mine. Though I had never exactly been a dandy, I was accustomed to lay stress on well-fitting clothes and faultless head-gear. One afternoon, just before the hour of the customary walk, my guardian angel summoned me to the *lingerie*, where the keeper of the clothes (*custos vestium*), old Brother Toffel, a French Swiss, presented me with a suit of clothes, shabby and threadbare, and of a most atrocious cut; a pair of horrible, shapeless shoes; and, to crown the whole, a hat and overcoat that would have been suitable wear for some travelling vagabond. I was instructed to put these on in exchange for my own clothes. This metamorphosis cost me a good deal of self-denial, and when I set out with my two novice attendants to walk along the high road to Roermond in the costume of a regular tramp, I felt neither disposed for the walk nor in any way comfortable. Thenceforth, though I was allowed to wear my own clothes in the house, I had to put on the "new" ones for walks—*i.e.* public occasions.

I had been put to the test and had passed it. Other tests soon followed. The probationary period terminated with three days' "Exercises" and a General Confession to the Novice-Master extending over my whole past life.

In the evening of November 12th I found the garb of the Order spread out on my bed: a long black upper garment reaching to the feet, fastened in the middle by a narrow girdle (*cingulum*), with a little, round black cap, the *calotte*, worn at the back of the head.* Below the outer garment was a shirt of coarse linen, breeches of some rough material, long black stockings (kept in place by suspenders). Thick shoes completed the toilette, for drawers are unknown in a Jesuit wardrobe.

There is no definite garb appointed for Jesuits. They are not to be conspicuous anywhere, but to adapt themselves to the ways of each country and place. For all that, a special dress, as described above, has become customary, especially in the German Province.

This seems a convenient place to introduce the regulations in regard to clothes, which have an interest of their own.

"The dress is to be adapted to the custom of the place where the Jesuit is residing, but should aim at a certain uniformity. The novices and tertiaries are to wear inferior clothes as a means of inducing indifference and contempt of the world. The dress of the General is determined by the whole Society at a General Congregation. The dress and cloak of the lay brothers must be a hand's-breadth shorter than that of the other Jesuits, and they must not wear the three-cornered *biretta*, but a little black cap called *calotte*."†

* At the end of the novitiate, after taking the vows, the Jesuit scholastic receives a broad girdle, and as head covering, instead of the *calotte*, the three-cornered *biretta* (not the four-cornered one worn by secular priests).

† Const. VI., 2, 15; VIII., 1, 8; III., Declar. C, cp. 2; IX., 4, 2; Decree 24 of the 7th and 30 of the 6th General Congregation; also *regulae cust. vest.*

The question of the lay brothers' hats has given rise to a great deal of talk. No fewer than four General Congregations have issued decrees and canons on the subject. There must have been some very serious discussions behind the scenes on this question of headgear. For the 31st Decree of the 8th Congregation speaks of secret voting on the matter, which it describes as of great importance (*rem adeo gravem*).

Very instructive are the comments made by the most influential of the ascetic writers of the Order, Alonzo Rodriguez, in his *Practice of Christian Perfection*, on the simplicity of Jesuit dress:

"In order the more easily to win access to every class of men it was advantageous to wear a dress not differing from that of the ordinary priest. . . . Especially as the Society was founded in the time of Luther, when the heretics shrank from the members of an Order and even from their dress. In order, therefore, to obtain more easy access to them . . . there must be nothing striking about our garb. . . . Else we should have become an object of dislike to heretics . . . and thus one of the main objects for which God founded our Society would have been frustrated."

Early next morning the *excitator*, Brother Minkenberg, who was also Brother Shoemaker and Sacristan, aroused me with the customary salutation, "*Venite, adoremus Dominum*," to which we had to reply, "*Venite, adoremus.*" He helped me to put on the unaccustomed garb, and I took my place in the chapel among the novices, and with them received the sacrament at the hands of the Rector and Novice-Master. Thus I became a novice of the Society of Jesus.

It was November 13th, 1878, the festival of a noble Polish youth, Stanislaus Kostka, who died in the seventeenth century at Rome as a Jesuit novice, and being

afterwards canonised, became the patron saint of all the novitiates of the Order.

THE DAILY ROUTINE

It is no easy matter after nearly forty long, eventful years to recall all the details of the daily routine, but this is correct in the main outlines:

Rise at 4. Very young novices (for they may be admitted at fifteen or sixteen), or persons in ill health, rise at 5. Dressing must not take longer than twenty minutes. Visit to the Blessed Sacrament (*visitatio sanctissimi*, the consecrated host in the tabernacle). 4.30–5.30, Meditation. 5.30–6, Mass. 6–6.15, *Reflexio—i.e.* contemplation of the Meditation. 6.15–6.30, *Compositio lecti*, bed-making, for a Jesuit always makes his own bed. 6.30, Breakfast. 6.50–7.30, *Relaxatio animi* (free time for relaxing the mind). 7.30–8, *Exercitium memoriae* (learning by heart verses from the New Testament). 8–9, Work in house and garden (*opera manualia*). 9–10, Instruction by the Novice-Master or his *Socius*. 10–10.15, Visit to the Sacrament in the Chapel; then for the next few minutes *distributio eleemosynarum* (the pairs of guardian angels mutually acquaint one another with the faults or peculiarities they have observed in one another or which have been pointed out by others, whether superiors or fellow-novices). 10.30–11, *Exercitium scribendi* (a writing lesson). 11–11.15, Reading in Thomas à Kempis. 11.15–11.30, Searching of conscience. 11.30–12, Dinner, then another short visit to the Sacrament in the Chapel. 12–1, Recreation. 1–1.30, Reading the lives of the Saints—*i.e.* the life of some holy Jesuit written by some other Jesuit. 1.30–3, Work in house and garden. 3–4, School or catechism. 4–4.15, *Merenda* (coffee and bread), taken standing in the refectory. 4.15–4.45, Reading from *The*

Practice of Christian Perfection by the Jesuit Alonzo Rodriguez. 4.45–5.15, Visit to the Sacrament. 5.15–6.30, Evening Meditation. 6.30–7, Supper, then another visit to the Sacrament in the Chapel. 7–8, Recreation. 8, Litany of the Saints and of the Blessed Virgin recited as evening prayer. 8.15–8.30, Explanation of the points set for Meditation next morning by the Master of the Novices or his *Socius*. 8.30–8.45, Conscience searching. 8.45, Short visit to the Sacrament in the Chapel, then bed. All must be in bed by 9 o'clock.

On Sundays and Festivals the routine was slightly different, the domestic duties being shortened and the pious observances and recreations lengthened. On Tuesday and Thursday afternoons we had a two hours' walk.

Though in the main correct, there may be some slight inaccuracies in this account, written after a lapse of thirty-two years. But the essential point is correct: the minute division of the day into portions marked out for definite purposes.

The life of a postulant or novice, and, indeed, of the scholastic, too, affords plentiful opportunities for mortification and self-control. At the time when I entered, 1878, these were increased by external circumstances. When the Jesuit Order was expelled from Germany (justly enough), the question of a shelter for its numerous German members caused not a little perplexity. Good friends, however, came to their assistance.

When my father placed his Dutch castle of Blyenbeck at their disposal, the Philosophy students were established there. The Humanity students went to Wynandsrade, a Dutch estate belonging to a Baron von dem Bongart. The theologians and the "tertiaries" were sent to England, where a rich English lady, Lady Stapleton, made over to the German Province two country seats, Ditton Hall and Portico, near Widnes in Lancashire.

The novitiate was transferred to Exaeten, where an unattractive building belonging to some Dutch family, whose name I have forgotten, provided a shelter for the novices.

Of course these sudden removals into buildings not adapted for the needs of the Order, nor suited for accommodating such large numbers, gave rise to a great deal of inconvenience in the attempt to cut our coat according to our cloth. One of the hardest trials I had to endure was the common sleeping apartment. In any circumstances sharing a room with twenty or thirty others requires no small effort of self-denial, but our dormitory at Exaeten was a trial beyond the ordinary. It was the attic of the house, unceiled and immediately under the steep slate roof. In winter it was icy cold; often the fine snow was driven by the wind on our coverlets and pillows; the water frequently froze; while in summer we could hardly endure the heat, which was retained all night by the slates as in a radiator. A few tiny holes in the roof admitted light and air. As bathing and washing the feet were rare occurrences, the former taking place about twice a year, the latter at best once a month, and the stockings, which we hung on the bed-posts, were changed only once a week, the atmosphere in the dormitory, especially at night, was something horrible. The bedsteads were placed among the rough cross-beams of the roof, and our heads and arms often came into contact with the roughly finished wood.

For washing we had small tables, on which stood tin basins—not one for each of us, but one to serve for several. As each of us finished he poured the water away into a vessel in a little side-room and gave the basin a superficial rinse, before making it over to his successor. Other vessels, too, were rinsed in the same trough, and though it had an outlet it gave forth a most

nauseating odour which did not add to the attractiveness of the general atmosphere.

Also we were obliged to wash ourselves fully dressed. To wash in our under-garments only would have been considered immodest, so it may be imagined that the process was a very superficial one.

As the Jesuit Order is recruited from all grades of society, and the personal habits of some of my fellow novices were far from pleasant, the constant endurance of this state of things was in itself a daily mortification. Personal cleanliness is a thing to which Jesuits pay little regard, and many of them are very dirty.

There were many disagreeable things, too, connected with the close contact in the living rooms. I shared with four other novices a room obviously intended as a bed- or sitting-room for one person. For a grown-up person never to be alone, and always, whether walking, standing, or sitting, having to pay regard to others, to be dependent on their wishes even in opening or shutting a window, is a privation which increases in intensity with age, especially for those whose former circumstances were of a very different character.

At meals we sat at the inner side of the long horseshoe table. In this way the Rector and Ministers, who sat at the upper end, had a better general view. The service was performed by novices in turn, changing every week, and some read aloud during meals, either in Latin or German.

The fare was plentiful and good. For breakfast we had coffee in large tin cups, and as much bread, without butter, as we liked. For dinner, soup, two kinds of meat with vegetables, potatoes, or salad; for supper, soup and warm meat. The meals at great festivals were often luxurious. This aspect of Jesuit poverty will be considered later.

Except during the recreations after dinner and supper strict silence was observed throughout the house. Conversation, even at recreation, was in Latin, of a character already described. Only on Sundays and when out walking was German allowed.

Our recreations were not taken in common, for free intercourse with our companions was not permitted. All the novices were divided into troops (*turmae*) of four or five, rearranged every week by the Novice-Master or his *Socius*. Only members of the same troop might converse together. When out for walks each troop consisted of at least three novices. On rare occasions there was a general recreation (*recreatio communis*), when the troops were dissolved. Each *turma* had a prefect (*praefectus turmae*), whose duty it was to acquaint the Superior with the conversation in his *turma* and any other occurrence connected with it.

One of the novices was appointed General Prefect, and the others had to obey his directions. He had to sound a bell as a signal for the beginning and end of the various exercises. There were other prefects, too, who had particular duties assigned to them. Each room had a *praefectus cubiculi;* the *praefectus lampadarum* had charge of the lamps; the *praefectus triclinii* supervised the cleaning of the refectory and its utensils, plates, knives, forks, and glasses; the *praefectus atriorum* supervised the washing and sweeping of the passages and staircases; and the *praefectus locorum* had a less attractive duty, and owing to the complete absence of proper sanitary arrangements it was an excellent means of mortifying the flesh. All these prefects were assigned a number of assistants (*socii*).

Twice a year, or oftener if the Master of the Novices preferred, the prefects and their assistants were changed, so that in the two years of his novitiate each novice had

taken part in almost every domestic duty. On disciplinary grounds, however, certain novices were retained permanently in the same office.

One of the main duties of the prefects was to report regularly to the Master of the Novices and his *Socius* every incident, no matter how small, which occurred within his jurisdiction.

Of the lessons in Latin and German I have already spoken. Every Sunday afternoon there was practice in oratory. This institution bore the curious name *toni*, probably meant as the plural of *tonus*, a tone, and it was so planned that in the course of the year each novice had to recite a portion of a sermon by heart from the refectory pulpit. This recitation was afterwards criticised by the Novice-Master, who would also call upon one or two novices to offer criticisms.

Besides the practice in recitation, there was also practice in preaching. Some of the novices with special gifts for oratory had to deliver sermons of their own composition during dinner. This rule applied to the scholastics too. In the second year of my novitiate I had to preach a sermon on St. Stanislaus' day, and seven years later, in 1886, as a theology scholastic at Ditton Hall, I preached again on the day of St. Ignatius, the chief festival of the Order.

These dinner-hour sermons, with their ascetic tenour, delivered amid the odours of hot meat and wine while the "pious congregation" is occupied with its plates and glasses, always had a jarring effect on me. It seemed a frivolous institution, and is undoubtedly a comparatively harmless application of the Jesuit principle—the end sanctifies the means—since the profanation of the sermon assists the oratorical training of its members.

Toni and sermons are continued during the whole of a young Jesuit's training, till the end of the scholastic

and tertiary periods. The great stress laid by the Order on a good public manner and good delivery finds expression in this institution. Indeed, the Jesuit Order might, with better right than the Dominicans, claim the title *Ordo praedicatorum*, Order of Preachers.

It is almost impossible to conceive the seclusion in which the Jesuit novice lives. Exaeten, the novitiate house, was situated in a desolate Dutch plain, but had it been placed in the midst of the roar and bustle of a large city the world without would have been no less dead, in a sense non-existent, for its inmates than it was for us novices among the pines and heather.

No newspaper or similar publication ever reaches a novice, nor does he hear one read. He has no intercourse of any kind. He consorts only with his fellow novices, his two superiors, the Master and *Socius*, and the *Manuductor*. He may not even converse with the other inmates of the house, the father and lay-brothers, without special leave. On very rare occasions the Master or *Socius* take part in the recreation of the novices; but as the conversation at recreation is also intended "to serve the ends of piety and spiritual progress," the discourse of these guests is confined entirely to the Jesuit aspect of virtue and asceticism.

And, indeed, the officially prescribed subjects for conversation contained in the *Catalogus* of Father Natalis which is impressed on the novices twice a year, leaves no room for worldly novelties. In accordance with this the novices and scholastics during the two daily recreations are to discourse on the following:

"1. The life of Christ and Church history. 2. The history of the Society of Jesus, in relation to things as well as persons. 3. The pious desires of the individual and the path of perfection and the fruits of daily meditation. 4. The pious desire to help our neighbours, especially

heretics and infidels. 5. The subjects dealt with in the lectures or sermons, or during the readings at dinner or supper. 6. The spirit and institution of the Society, its constitutions and rules and the grace of vocation, with humility, simplicity, and piety in the Lord, with a view to their complete observance. 7. On their own vocation. 8. On virtues, in particular those which are peculiar to members of an Order, and, above all, the grace and peculiarity of our calling. 9. On the corresponding vices, but not those of the flesh. 10. Death, the Judgment, Hell, Heaven. 11. The secret and open judgments of God. 12. The misery of the world, and the perils of those who live in it. 13. The certainty of salvation for those who live in the Society, but in humility, not preferring it in anything to other Orders, but exalting its grace in the Lord with ardent spirit. 14. Good works for our neighbour. 15. The virtues and religious walk of the fathers and brothers; above all, those who were far away or already asleep in the Lord. 16. The heretics and infidels of our own age, with a view to gaining courage to proceed against them with the sword of the spirit, and to pray to the Lord for their conversion. 17. Finally, they should discourse of such things as may at the same time relax the mind and serve to spiritual edification. Such are far removed from [scientific] speculation and full of worthy and sweet religious feelings." *

The legend relates that Paul the Hermit, who in the fourth century lived alone for sixty years in the Libyan Desert, being accidentally discovered by a traveller, asked him whether men were still born and houses built, and wars waged within the world. A Jesuit novice might ask the same questions, so secluded a life does he lead.

For my own part, when the first weeks and months

* *Instructio* 13 *pro renovatione spiritus*, cp. 9, *Inst. Soc. Jesu*, Romae, 1870, II. 305, 306.

had gone by and I had grown accustomed to the hardships, I felt the unending silence and seclusion of the novitiate and scholasticate a real source of happiness. This feeling of well-being is adduced by the Jesuits, and other Orders too, as an argument for the grace of God as manifested in the Order. But this is an error. Every human being capable of deep emotions, even if not religious, enjoys the benefits of quiet and seclusion when once he has penetrated to their hidden joys. Lonely mountain heights and valleys, the deep seclusion of a forest, a deserted sea-shore, drive haste and restlessness from our hearts, and make room for rest and contemplation, no less than the " peace of God " which lies over the novitiate house.

The novitiate lays the foundations of piety and asceticism. On this account I must deal with both in detail.

CHAPTER XI

THE PIETY OF THE JESUIT ORDER

PIETY and asceticism, though closely related, are quite distinct. Piety is the inward as well as the visible sign of the soul's relation to God. Asceticism is practice in self-abnegation and mortification, with a religious basis and religious aim. The piety and asceticism of the Gospels, as there set forth in the example and teaching of Christ, are the simplest and attain the highest religious and moral perfection. But while the whole contents of the Gospels have been gradually transformed by visionary fanaticism and pseudo-mystical exaltation, to say nothing of the influence of the State, this is more especially the case with the piety and ascetic practice there set forth.

The piety of Christ culminated in the relation of the child to its Heavenly Father, who is to be worshipped in spirit and in truth. To Him we should pray, not with long prayers, in the closet, not in the street or in magnificent temples. The piety of Christ is simple, natural, and spiritual. So too is His ascetic practice. It may be described as the self-discipline and self-sacrifice of a noble, natural human being, rising in heroic self-denying devotion to the highest ends of the service of God and humanity, ready to bring all necessary sacrifices and make all requisite renunciations; there is nothing violent and distorted in the piety and asceticism of the Gospels.

But if we compare with this lofty type the piety and ascetic practice of the succeeding ages and our own day,

we encounter differences, even contradictions, everywhere, among Protestants and Catholics alike. Inward piety has given place to externals, the simple and natural to the complicated and artificial, and freedom has been superseded by a system of compulsion.

Such differences and contradictions abound above all in the numerous spiritual orders of the Romish Church.

First let me deal with Jesuit piety.

The piety of an Order is the piety of the barracks, regulated in every detail and at every moment. This applies especially to the Jesuits. It kills all individuality, which ought to be the essence and life of true piety. The sign-manual of the Jesuits and the goal of their education, of which piety is one of the most important components, is the levelling, suppression, even destruction, of individuality, turning men out to pattern. Piety is not an end in itself, only, like so much else, one of the means towards its main object, the inward and outward uniformity of its members, who are the tools of its will.

This crass egotism of the Order, its refusal to recognise the right to existence of the individual, is as manifest in the pious exercises of each single Jesuit as in its scheme of study. Nowhere is it more strongly marked than in its system of supervision.

The most secret emotions of the heart, all that should rest exclusively between man and God, must be revealed to the criticism of a superior. This compulsion and criticism manifest in the highest degree the brutal egotism and levelling uniformity of Jesuit piety.

Confession as conducted by the Jesuits furnishes a most effective method of compulsion and criticism. But something beyond this is required, and is supplied by the *ratio conscientiae*, a statement of the condition of the conscience. As the subordinate is compelled to reveal to

the Superior all his religious emotions, and frequently and regularly to lay bare his whole mind and soul, the *ratio conscientiae* gives the Superior complete mastery over the soul of his subordinates. They may not be pious in their own fashion, but only in that of the Superior, or, rather, the Order. It is he who decides the matter, time, and manner of the prayers of the individual, and the whole intercourse of his soul with God.

The Order lays great stress on contemplative prayer. Every day a whole hour must be devoted to it, in the novitiate even two hours; and every Jesuit is expected to spend at least one week in the year in meditation during his novitiate and in the tertiate a whole month. For meditation (*meditatio, contemplatio*) is one, if not the main, essential of Jesuit piety. Yet even in this kind of prayer—which is called "inner," to distinguish it from oral prayer—the Jesuit may not follow his own individuality, or find his own path to the union with God which he seeks in faith and piety. During the whole of his novitiate the subject for daily meditation is not only prescribed, but actually prepared for him by the Novice-Master or his *Socius* in a half-hour's discourse, in such a way that the emotions to be aroused by each of the subjects of contemplation, usually three in number, are, as it were, experienced in advance.

During his scholasticate and afterwards, a Jesuit is usually allowed to choose the subject of his own meditation, but the complete dependence acquired in the two years' novitiate is not to be shaken off, and, in any case, all attempt at original thought is checked by the Annual Exercises, in which the subjects are expounded four times a day for a whole week, and by the Statements of Conscience.

Then there are the *Lumina*. The novice is instructed to note down in a special book his experiences at each

of the meditations, the points that made the greatest impression on him, the resolutions he has taken. These illuminations must be laid before the Novice-Master, who divests them of all individuality and adapts them to the systematic piety of the Order. This supervision of the *Lumina* is perhaps the most effectual piece of levelling undertaken by the Jesuits. The *Lumina* are the meagre remnants of individual piety, which a Jesuit has retained amid the systematised forms of pious observance. By handing even this over to the criticism of his Superior, he destroys almost the last vestige of what is his own, since the Order sets its stamp on his written account of his moods and feelings, and cancels everything, even the wording, that does not fit into its own mould.

The *Lumina* also illustrate another remarkable aspect of Jesuit piety—dissection of a man's self and destruction of all that is spontaneous and impulsive. Without spontaneity and impulse true piety is impossible. A man who is compelled, after every elevation of the soul to God—for such is prayer—to fix in writing all the feelings and emotions which he has experienced, sacrifices the intimate relation of his soul with God, and his piety is only a process of registration.

Of course the Order exercises the same supervision over oral prayer. Here too time, place, and manner are prescribed. Nothing may be hidden from the Superior.

This curiosity of the Order in regard to prayer appears also in the tenth question set to candidates, already quoted. The catechising Jesuit attaches himself firmly to the soul of the postulant; no detail of his piety may escape him. If this is the manner of supervision in the case of postulants, how much more in the case of novices, scholastics, and fathers.

These peculiarities of Jesuit piety, supervision, systematisation, and uniformity, explain their opposition to

mysticism. The German mystics, such as Tauler and Seuse, with their pious individualism are to the Jesuits as fire to water. Such outpourings of the heart are alien to the Jesuit. But while deaf to this heavenly music he finds room for a very different kind of mysticism.

It is often thought that Jesuit piety has a sober and reasoned character, is free from sentimentality and all excesses in respect of miracles, apparitions, and the like. This is an error.

True, Jesuit piety is careful to regulate the emotions, but only with a view to driving out the individual element and replacing it by the system of the Order. The Order is opposed to all true mysticism, which is the free development of the pinions of the soul, and uncontrolled absorption in the Godhead; for all this is outside the scope of its system. But within the appointed barriers flourishes a rank growth of sentimentality, superstition, and miracle hunting. Indeed, the Jesuit Order was, and still is, a chief promoter of pseudo-mysticism with all its objectionable accompaniments and consequences.

This characteristic of the Order may be traced back to its founder, Ignatius Loyola. About him and his emotional life too many wrong views have been adduced.* If ever there was a pseudo-mystic and pathological hysteric, it was the converted knight of the Basque lands. It would be outside the scope of this book to give a characterisation of Ignatius. I will only give a few instances of his piety and pseudo-mysticism, which are reproduced on a large scale in his creation, the Jesuit Order.

He himself dictated the following to the Jesuit Luis Gonzalez:

"One night he beheld the most blessed Mother of God

* *E.g.* the views expressed by Riezler (*Geschichte Baierns*, Gotha, 1903, 6, 251) and Gotthein (*Ignatius von Loyola und die Gegenreformation*, Halle, 1895, 4, 416 *et seq.*), on the piety and asceticism of Ignatius, are incorrect.

with the child Jesus standing beside him for a long time. This sight wrought in him such disgust at his past life, especially everything that relates to the lust of the flesh, that he seemed to feel every semblance of such things pass away from his soul. During the whole time of his stay at Manresa, he never cut his hair or beard, or his toe or finger nails. At Manresa (where he is said to have written the 'Exercises'), he saw in bright daylight a shining serpent suspended in the air, the sight of which filled him with delight; afterwards he recognised that it was the devil, and drove it away with his stick. One day he saw the blessed Trinity in the shape of three piano notes, which so filled him with joy that he shed streams of tears, which continued till midday. The creation of the world he beheld in the form of a white object, from which God sent forth rays of light. Often when at prayer he beheld Christ, as a white body, neither large nor small, and without members. In like fashion, too, he beheld the Virgin Mary. These apparitions so much confirmed his faith that he declared that, even if the Bible did not teach the sacred mysteries he was yet ready to die for them. In a Church outside the gates of Rome he saw God the Father presenting him to His Son. While drawing up the Constitutions of the Order, he frequently beheld God the Father, the blessed Trinity, and the Virgin Mary, and during the celebration of mass he was impelled to shed many tears."

The Bollandist * biography gives these details:

One night his room was so brilliantly illuminated by heavenly light that many ran to see what was the matter. On the day when Ignatius began to write the Constitutions, he wept almost without ceasing at mass

* The Bollandists are Jesuit writers who publish the great biographical work *Acta Sanctorum*. They take their name from Bollandus (*d.* 1665), the first editor. The work is still unfinished; 62 folio vols. of the new edition have appeared.

from emotion and joy. This statement is made by the Jesuit Orlandinus from information given him by Ignatius himself. Ignatius possessed the "gift of tears" (*donum lacrymarum*), which means that when praying and especially during the celebration of the mass he shed streams of tears. Ignatius himself said to the Jesuit Bartoli: "That day my tears seemed to me to be different from the former ones, they flowed slowly, sweetly, and silently, and came from within in a manner I cannot express. When I besought the Virgin Mary to plead graciously for me with the Father and Son, I felt myself raised up to God the Father, my hair rose on my head, and my whole body was penetrated by great heat, then followed a stream of tears together with great sweetness. So great was my delight in divine things, combined with constant weeping, that it seemed to me as though God the Father, my God and Lord, filled my innermost being, whenever I called upon Him. While celebrating mass I wept so much that I feared to lose my sight, so sore were my eyes from weeping. At the words 'May it please thee, Blessed Trinity,' I was seized by a mighty love, and poured forth hot tears. I discoursed with the Holy Ghost, weeping the while, and saw and felt it as brightness and flame." The account of the floods of tears continues: "His eyes were so much injured from weeping that, according to the Jesuit Ribadeneira, he could no longer read the breviary, and the number of his tears was so great that he collected them in a large vessel." Often the countenance of Ignatius reflected such light that it illumined the whole room. He had especial power over devils. This is proved by many instances of the apparition and exorcising of devils.* Emotional prayer and excessive stimulation of the feelings in the pursuit of piety are reflected in a letter written by Ignatius, probably in

* *Acta SS.*, 34, Julii 7, 457, 502, 539, 540, 597-599.

1548, to Francis Borgia, Duke of Gandia, the third General of the Jesuits, who at that time still ruled his duchy as a mere affiliate of the Order.

"In regard to the third point, the mortification of your body, I would, for the sake of the Lord, avoid everything which resembles a drop of blood. And even if the Divine Majesty has given grace for this and for everything that has been stated, I say without giving any other reasons and proofs, that it is better for the future, to avoid this, and instead of seeking or trying to induce a drop of blood, to seek more immediately the Lord of all, I mean in His most sacred gifts, such as an overflow or even a few drops of tears, . . . and these tears are the more precious and costly, the higher are the thoughts and meditations which call them forth. . . . Among these [most sacred gifts] I understand . . . in their order and respect of the Divine Majesty . . . tears, inward consolation, elevation of the spirit, impressions, divine illuminations and all other spiritual joys and emotions." *

Ignatius does, however, add:

"We should not seek after these things merely for their pleasantness or the joy which they cause us"; but the invitation to seek after mystically sensuous emotions, combined with tears in and during prayer, and the connection between these emotions and the "Lord of all" is not thereby affected.

Strong expression is also given to this desire for pseudo-piety in the Magna Charta of Jesuit piety, the "Spiritual Exercises." Of these I shall speak in detail later, and therefore give only one example here.

In the Rules which direct "How to unite in right feeling with the Orthodox Church," the Book of Exercises says:

". . . We should recommend to the faithful psalms

* Genelli, S.J., *Life of St. Ignatius.* Innsbruck, 1848, pp. 384, 385.

and long prayers (*prolixas preces*) both in the Church and without. . . . We should approve the veneration of relics, and the invocation of saints. Also the Stations of the Cross, pious pilgrimages, indulgences, jubilees, lighted tapers in the Church and other similar aids to our piety. We should greatly exalt the practice of abstinence and fasting. . . . We should praise the pictures of the saints."*

To this sketch, traced and even experienced by Ignatius himself, originating and ending in the pathological and hysterical, the edifice of piety raised by the Order corresponds completely. For its fundamental basis and its adornment consist in the most miraculous of miracles, a rooted belief in devils and their fantastic description.

My quotations are taken at random from books of edification, private letters that have attained notoriety, the official annual letters (*Litterae annuae*), and the memoirs of the houses (*historiae domus*) of the separate houses, mission reports, lives of saints, and the like. The variegated medley of time, place, persons, and objects will show better than any systematic arrangement the pseudo-mystical, unhealthy tone which attaches equally and uniformly to everything that appertains to Jesuit piety.

From a missionary report:

The Jesuit Francis Cyprian, in the year 1637, on a voyage to India, when at the point of death was translated into heaven. There he was informed by God that he was to return to life and re-open the gates of Japan; the ship would be wrecked at the Cape of Good Hope, but he would be carried on a cloud as on a throne to Goa; the destruction of the ship was due to the sins of the crew, one in particular having pierced with a dagger a picture of Mary, but it only touched the painted

* *Institut. Societ. Jesu*, II., 416, Rome, 1870.

cloud that surrounded the image; he had at first hidden the picture away in a chest, but God had removed it thence and taken it up to heaven, where it was restored to the Jesuit Cyprian. The destruction of the ship was averted by the intercession of St. Francis Xavier; but this unfortunately rendered unnecessary Father Cyprian's cloud-journey.*

From two letters of the Belgian Jesuit Montmorancy:

"A noble lady at Trapani, in Sicily, was sick to death. In vain she was touched by all manner of relics, even a fragment of the true Cross was of no avail. At last her confessor, the Jesuit Rossetti, advised her to invoke St. Francis Xavier, through the intervention of the Jesuit Francis Mastrelli, who had recently suffered martyrdom in India. This she does, and at the same time Rossetti touches her with a letter written by Mastrelli. At once her sickness leaves her."

"Recently a deceased Jesuit had appeared to another and told him that, though not in purgatory, he had not yet entered heaven; and because in his life-time he had not shown sufficient zeal in the succour of the dying, he must now afford them this help in the guise of a guardian angel. Several other Jesuits were undergoing the same punishment."†

In this story it is noteworthy that Jesuit piety and love of the miraculous set aside even Catholic dogma, which knows no intermediate state between purgatory and heaven, such as is here described.

From a Book of Devotion by the Jesuit Pemble:

"What sort of undergarment did Jesus wear? It was made of linen, and is preserved at Rome in the Lateran with the superscription: 'The linen undergarment of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was made for him by the most

* From Döllinger-Reusch, *Moralstreitiggeiten*, II., 349.
† *Ibid.*, I., 531, and II., 351 *et seq.*

blessed Virgin Mary.' Was this undergarment distinct from that seamless cloak? Yes, for the cloak, which is also preserved at Rome, was of wool and grew along with Jesus Christ. Of what colour was the seamless cloak? It was violet. Of what wood was the Cross of Jesus Christ? It seems to have been of oak, as is stated in the Greater Articles of the Cross."*

From a book, "Pity the Souls in Purgatory, Marvellous Occurrences in the World Beyond,"† by the Jesuit Rosignoli. He emphasises the attested credibility of his statements:

An aunt of the Emperor Otto IV. heard a knocking at the door. She opened it and the Emperor came in. "I am languishing in the flames of purgatory," he said; "call upon the convents to pray for me, let the monks recite the Psalter and scourge themselves when they say the *De Profundis*." To Pope Innocent III. appeared a pious virgin surrounded by flames who said: "I nearly forfeited my salvation by three sins. But in the hour of death Mary granted me complete penitence. Still I must suffer a long time yet, unless you help me by your prayers." At Ferrara a palace became uninhabitable through the incessant nightly noises. A student offered to live in the house. In the night he saw a horrible ghost; at dawn of day it departed; the student followed it with a consecrated taper till it vanished in the cellar. There they found a corpse, buried it, and said masses for the deceased. Then the disturbance stopped. A Franciscan appeared to a Dominican, and in order to move him to pity caused him to see the flames that tormented him. He also laid his burning hand on a table which was deeply marked by it. A Spanish nobleman on the way to visit

* Bucher, I., 150 *et seq.*

† *Erbarmet euch der Seelen im Fegefeuer. Wunderbare Ereignisse aus dem Jenseits.* (Paderborn, 1878, Bonifaciusdruckerei.)

his mistress, a married woman, recites the rosary, and dedicates his prayer to a man whose corpse he sees hanging on the gallows. When the husband surprises and attacks him the dead man comes to his assistance, and afterwards hangs himself unaided on the gallows again. Two Spaniards stabbed one another before the eyes of their mistress, and she herself was killed by the relations of the dead men. She was a member of the Fraternity of the Rosary; and on this account Mary induced St. Dominic to recall the dead girl to life. She then made a general confession, and lived two days more in order to recite a number of rosaries which had been enjoined on her as a penance. St. Francis has the privilege on his day, October 4th, of descending into purgatory and saving some souls which have done his Order good service.*

From a book by the Jesuit Terwekoren: "The holy water of St. Ignatius Loyola as a remedy for all ills of the soul and body."

While the cattle plague was raging the water was used at a farm, and of fifteen horses not one died. When the cholera was raging at Brügge in 1839 it suddenly ceased in one of the streets through the use of St. Ignatius water. The demand for the water became such that fifty casks were not enough for one week's consumption. For birth-pains the holy water is especially efficacious.†

From the Jesuit journal *Sendbote des göttlichen Herzens* ("Messenger of the Sacred Heart"):

A groom cures his horse's lameness by a prayer to the Heart of Jesus. Wine casks lost on the railway are recovered through a novena in honour of the Heart of Jesus. The building of a Protestant factory is stopped,

* Rosignoli. *Erbarmet euch der Seelen im Fegefeuer. Wunderbare Ereignisse aus dem Jenseits.* Paderborn, Bonifaciusdruckerei, pp. 185, 244, 68, 95, 159, 122, 256.

† Vienna, 1867, pp. 25, 30, 73.

and a Catholic casino erected through the Sacred Heart. (1871, 118, 207.) At Stilfs a pregnant woman was drowned on July 3rd, 1871. When her body was opened the dead infant was found. A prayer was offered for the christening grace of the dead child; while it was being offered its lips and cheeks grew red, and its mouth opened. It was christened, and immediately after it again became rigid and white as wax. (1871, 268.) Near Botzen a child was born dead, it was taken to the miraculous Madonna of Riffian. After the first prayer it gave signs of life, which, however, soon ceased. The child was buried, but disinterred a few days later. Again prayers were offered, and once more signs of life appeared, and the child was baptised. (1871, 184.) A severe eye-trouble was healed by a fragment of the dress of "the blessed Mother Madeleine Barat," (foundress of the female congregation of the Sacred Heart, at whose numerous institutions in England, Austria, France, Belgium, and Italy the daughters of many aristocratic and rich families are educated.) (1872, 17.) Epilepsy is cured by a promise to spend thirty-two kreutzers, every first Friday in the month (Friday is specially sacred to the Heart of Jesus), for candles to be burnt on the altar of the Sacred Heart, to abstain from coffee every Friday for a whole year, and every year to undertake three pilgrimages to the Madonna of Krischeschitz. (1872, 20.) A novena to the Sacred Heart cures hoarseness completely. (1872, 22.) Cattle disease is stopped by a novena for the suffering souls in purgatory. (1872, 44.) A great fire is put out without water by invocation of the Sacred Heart. (1872, 172.) By means of a novena in honour of St. Joseph, a paper hostile to the Church is banished out of a family. A skull broken by a kick from a horse is healed by prayer to Mary, "without inflammation, without suppuration even, the broken skull heals up again." (1872, 206.)

"In Thann, near Simbach, three persons dedicated themselves to the Sacred Heart, and in accordance with their vow published the fact that they had been untouched by a very severe epidemic of small-pox." (1872, 213.) A meditation in honour of the three sacred hearts of Jesus, Mary, and Joseph, secures exemption from military service. (1872, 215.) A severe stomach trouble is cured by laying "on the suffering part an Agnus Dei medal consecrated by the Pope." (1872, 334.) A foot trouble, with threatened mortification, is cured by a Madonna picture. (1872, 338.) A girl who has been lame for fifteen years is cured by a pilgrimage. (1872, 340.) At Duderstadt a fire, "favoured by a strong wind and other circumstances," is extinguished by the vow of a novena in honour of the Sacred Heart. (1872, 365.) Emphysema of the lungs is cured by a meditation in honour of the hearts of Jesus, Mary, and Joseph, and the blessed Jesuit Berchmann. (1872, 369.) Ring-worm is cured by water from Lourdes. (1872, 373.)

These samples of piety have not been laboriously collected from the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart.* Several thousand such instances abound in its volumes. And it is important to realise that this journal has for the last forty years had a very wide circulation among German Catholics of all classes. It was part of my mother's favourite literature.*

* The German edition of this book contains a long extract from the same journal, entitled "A Thorn in the Heart of Jesus" (*Ein Dorn im Herzen Jesu*, 1872, 216–219), intended to serve as a warning for mothers of the upper classes. A mother is heard to say: "My daughter is such an age; to-day she will enter the world" (the equivalent to the English term "coming out"). This is made the text of a sermon on the dangers and wickedness of the world. She is exhorted to educate her daughter "for God and heaven, but not for the world and the princes thereof." "Do not take her into the world. This month is the festival of the dear Mother St. Anna. Let us pray to her for those poor children whose blind mothers have thrown them into the arms of the Moloch of the world, beseeching her to save that which still can be saved."

From the annual reports for 1579 of the Jesuit College at Cologne: "Three noble brothers, by their terrible experience, gave the Jesuits an opportunity on St. Michael's Eve of encouraging their pupils to the adoration of their guardian angels. In the morning when they were getting ready for school, and the house prefect had just extinguished the light in the room where they had been working, they were violently thrown down by some unseen person and left half dead, uttering the most horrible cries and shrieks. The prefect brought fresh light, and found them, scarcely breathing, lying on the threshold. While he was trying to restore them they suddenly roused themselves, as though from a deep sleep. The trembling limbs and pale faces testify to the truth of the tale. After the matter had been carefully investigated by our members it appeared that they had set out without making the sign of the Cross or using the holy water."*

The Jesuits Höven and Miller tell of the dying Jesuit Johannes Berchmanns, canonised by Pope Leo XIII.:

"The sick man seemed to be asleep; heavenly peace was on his face. Suddenly he sprang up, and fell on his knees in the middle of the bed; his face was distorted, but his eyes gazed fixedly upward to heaven; his lips trembled and he exclaimed aloud: 'No, I will never do it. Should I offend thee, oh, my God? Oh, Mary, never will I offend thy Son. Away from me; rather will I die a thousand, ten thousand, a hundred thousand, a million times.' His loud cries brought several fathers in haste from the neighbouring rooms. The poor man was breathing heavily, and his face was distorted with violent twitching of lips and mouth, he struck about him with his hands, as though surrounded by foes. The priests blessed the bed and the sick man with holy water. . . .

* J. Hansen, *Rheinische Akten zur Geschichte des Jesuitenordens* (Bonn, 1896), p. 729.

Gradually he grew calmer, and, turning to one side, he exclaimed in a strong voice, 'Away with thee, Satan. I fear thee not.'" *

The above-mentioned historians call this the "terrible conflict with hell" which Berchmanns had to wage, although, as they assure us, he had never committed the smallest sin. We read there too:

Katharine of Rakanati, being afflicted with blindness, laid one finger of Berchmanns' dead hand first on her right, then on her left eye, and at once her sight returned. . . . Sister Maria Crucifixia Ancaini was dangerously ill, for a polypus had formed near her heart. One side was paralysed, and her convulsions were so violent that the whole bed was shaken by them. At last a state of rigidity set in and all human remedies seemed vain. The Mother Superior brought her a picture of the Venerable † Berchmanns, and encouraged her to set her trust in this powerful advocate with God. But she was no longer sufficiently conscious to pray for the restoration of her health. The picture was placed on her bed. Next morning she began gradually to revive. Suddenly she felt herself animated by great confidence. Praying, she grasped the holy man's picture and pressed it to her breast and forehead. In the same moment she was healed.‡

The Jesuit Hattler related, in his account of the Venerable Father Jacob Rem, of the Society of Jesus:

"The souls of the dead often came to visit him. . . . It was not uncommon to hear from the churchyard the cries, sighs, and laments of the suffering souls who besought Father Jacob for help. They even came at times to the door of his room and knocked softly or loudly, according to the extent of their torments, and the help which they

* *Leben des heiligen Johannes Berchmanns.* Dülmen, 1901. pp. 173, 175.

† *Venerabilis* and *beatus* are titles preliminary to the final *sanctus.*

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 200.

needed. . . . Once there appeared to him one of his comrades in the Order with sorrowful countenance, clad in soiled garments, a sign that his soul was not yet fully purified, and was therefore suffering in purgatory. Father Rem asked what his sin had been. . . . The dead man confessed that he had sinned against the rule of obedience, by frequently scourging himself without the permission of his Superior. . . . All these instances of pity which animated Father Rem for the souls in purgatory were so well known to his fellows in the Order, that after his death they transformed into a chapel the room in which the venerable man dwelt, and where he received the visits of the suffering souls, and it continued, till the suppression of the Order, to bear the name *Locus animarum* (place of the suffering souls)."

"Rem's contemporary and brother Jesuit, Father Jacob Biedermann, the poet, immortalised this pity and love soon after his death in a Latin epigram, which may be thus rendered in prose. . . . This is the old man, that Jacob, whose streams of tears continuously moistened the flames in which the souls burn beneath the earth to atone for their sins. Scarcely did the shades of night veil the stars than troops of weeping souls approached him. The poor things stood at the door and stretched out their hands in silent lament."*

The grotesquely miraculous is, in fact, an outstanding characteristic of the very extensive Jesuit literature of the saints, so widely diffused among Catholics. Simple piety, recalling the Sermon on the Mount, is non-existent there. Everything is extreme and extravagant. The more wonderful and startling, the more pious—this seems to be the dominant note in Jesuit hagiography.

Reusch quotes from numerous Jesuit documents

* *Der ehrwürdige Vater Jakob Rem aus der Gesellschaft Jesu.* Regensburg, 1881. pp. 161, 164.

copied by Döllinger from the Munich State archives, and found among his posthumous papers :

" On November 25th, 1668, the Jesuit Painter writes to the Jesuit Veihelin, Rector of the Jesuit College at Munich : ' The Duke of Cellamini, at Naples, wished to have a copy of a miraculous portrait of Francis Xavier, which moved its eyes. Three times, as the artist tried to begin his work he fell down in a faint. After the third attack an excellent copy was found on the canvas on which he had meant to paint. In a Spanish cathedral there were portraits of the founders of all the Orders except Ignatius Loyola. A stranger offered to produce a portrait of him in half an hour. He was locked in the sacristy, but before the half-hour was over an inquisitive crowd forced its way in, and found the stranger gone, and an excellent portrait of Ignatius completed.' "

From a Jesuit letter dated Eger, February 7th, 1635: " When the Jesuit Gladisch was saying mass for the soul of a dead man, the tapers were put out by a gust of wind and the candlesticks broken, as a sign that the deceased was damned. When the same Jesuit was saying mass for the dead Field-Marshal Pappenheim, mysterious explosions of small cannon were heard. While reading mass for a dead man, about whose condemnation he was anxious, Gladisch felt the sudden conviction that his soul was in the corporal [a cloth laid on the chalice]; at the next mass it was revealed to him that the soul was safe. Once a soul which had been in purgatory for 160 years demanded a mass of him, and threatened that, unless he granted it, he himself after death would have to remain in purgatory until a priest who was not yet born should say a mass for him."

The Jesuit missionary Kropf reports from the Jesuit Mission in the Philippines, on December 12th, 1732: " The Jesuit Finck found among the Tagals some who

had lost their noses. When asked the cause of this, they told him that a former missionary, who had tried in vain to convert them to Christianity, had threatened them with the wrath of God; and, in fact, God did deprive these stiff-necked sinners of their noses."*

The Jesuit Agricola was commissioned by the Upper German Province of the Order to compose a history of the Province. Here are some samples:

In 1633 the picture of the Jesuit Peter Canisius in Quito (Ecuador), was seen to perspire as a sign that affairs in Germany were going ill. In the Jesuit Church at Ebersberg the following relics were venerated: A fragment of the true Cross, portions of the swaddling bands of Christ and of the scourges, grave, and sudary, a drop of His blood shed on the Mount of Olives, portions of the crown of thorns, the veil and girdle of the Virgin, one of John the Baptist's teeth, two skulls of soldiers from the legion of St. Maurice, two skulls of maidens who attended St. Ursula, one of St. Vincent's fingers, and the skull of St. Sebastian. All these relics, for the genuineness of which, as the Jesuit assures us, there is the most credible testimony (*de quibus omnibus monimentis fide dignissima testimonia adsunt*), were held in great honour by the inhabitants. A woman who had always borne dead children, after confessing to a Jesuit brought forth a living child.†

"The Practice of Christian Perfection," by Alonzo Rodriguez, a Spanish Jesuit who lived in the sixteenth century, is in great repute in the Order. Novices have to read it for half an hour every day, and twice a year for a fortnight it is used for reading aloud at meals; it is the only book besides the "Imitation of Christ" which may be read during the Exercises, and for most Jesuits, even

* *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 1894; *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Jesuitenordens*, pp. 279 *et seq.*

† *Ibid.*, II., 235, 250, 332.

after the completion of their training, "The Practice of Christian Perfection" remains the handbook for piety and asceticism.

In Rodriguez we find the same fruits of Jesuit piety as in all the other devotional writers of the Order.

From the section on "Harmony with the Will of God": "1. St. Dominic, when in Rome, frequently visited a holy woman, who was suffering from cancer of the breast. One day he expressed a wish to see the wound, it was full of matter, putrefaction, and alive with worms. Amazed at her heroic endurance he begged her to give him one of the worms. She consented on condition that he would give it back to her, 'for it was to her a great joy to allow herself to be devoured by worms in her lifetime.' Scarcely had Dominic taken up the worm than it was transformed in his hand into a precious pearl, and when he again laid this pearl in the wound it was turned back into a worm. By this miracle God showed how well-pleasing to Him was harmony with His will. 2. The sheep is led to the slaughter and does not open its mouth; but the swine, that unclean beast, squeals when it is slain. The same difference may be observed [in regard to the attitude at death] between the just, who are typified by sheep, and the godless and fleshly, who are typified by swine. 3. A pious monk who had served God faithfully for forty years, but never experienced spiritual consolation, complained of this before the altar. Then he heard a terrible noise behind him, as though the Church were falling in, and beheld a devil who gave him a terrible blow with a rod of iron, so that for three weeks he endured the most grievous pains and a horrible stench was emitted from his body. Afterwards it was revealed to him by God that this was the punishment for not surrendering himself with equanimity to the will of God."

From the section on "Humility": 1. A holy monk

had with him a boy who had been previously possessed of a devil. When on one occasion he expressed vain satisfaction that the devil no longer tormented the boy since he had intercourse with him, the devil at the same moment re-entered the boy. "From this we may learn how God detests every word which is aimed in the least degree at the praise of the speaker." 2. Saint Severin, to whom God had granted the gift of driving out devils, besought Him that in order to be delivered from vain thoughts he might himself be possessed. God granted his prayer, and the devil entered into him for five months. 3. Three monks, who had indulged in vain thoughts were handed over by God to three devils, who plagued them terribly for forty days.

From the section on "Temptation": In order to show a monk how differently members of an Order act under temptation, God showed him innumerable devils who continually sent arrows against the brothers. Some of the arrows rebounded against the devils, others fell harmless to the ground in front of the members, some entered the flesh as far as the point, and others entered in more deeply.

From the section on "Improper love for relations": A professor of theology, whose mother had sacrificed the remainder of her money to enable him to complete his studies, had entered an Order and left his old mother in the greatest poverty. She besought him to leave it in order to provide for her. When almost overcome by her prayers he was directed by a speaking crucifix not to obey his mother.

From the section on "The Passion of Christ": A slave felt such devotion at the thought of Christ's passion that he wept incessantly. His master, who would not believe that this was the cause of his tears, had him put to death and his heart opened; "there they found a well-marked picture of the crucified Christ."

From the section on "The Communion": 1. A priest doubted the presence of blood in the consecrated host. While saying mass he saw the host hovering above the chalice and blood flowing thence into the cup. 2. A German priest continued to say mass in spite of many unconfessed sins against chastity. To convert him God caused the consecrated host and wine to disappear out of his hands during three days, so that he could not communicate. The priest confessed, and when he next said mass the three vanished wafers returned and the cup filled itself with thrice the amount of consecrated blood. 3. A Jewish child had eaten of the consecrated bread. When its father heard of it he threw the child, in a passion, into the glowing furnace of the glass-works. The mother, who had searched in vain for her child, found it on the third day unhurt in the hottest part of the furnace, and the child told her that a lady clad in purple had kept the flames away from him and given him food. "This was the effect of the sacred host in the child's body."

From the section on "The Mass": Two youths went early to the hunt; one had previously heard mass, the other not. During the hunt a terrible storm arose, and a dreadful voice cried out: "Strike him, strike him," and the youth who had neglected to attend mass was struck dead by lightning, while the other looked on in amazement. Then the voice went on: "Strike him," but a different voice answered: "I cannot strike him, for he has this day heard the words: 'The Word was made flesh.'" Thus he was saved because he had attended mass.

From the section on "Poverty": 1. The prior of a convent put on the robe of the deceased abbot, which was of specially fine cloth; and at once it burnt him like fire. The other clothes of the deceased, who had sinned against poverty by the purchase of fine cloth,

when thrown on a heap, burnt furiously for several days without any external cause. 2. A dying monk could not swallow the consecrated wafer, while another monk swallowed it easily. After the death of the first monk five pieces of copper money were found on his person. In this way he had sinned against poverty, and was therefore incapable of partaking of the sacrament.

From the section on "Chastity": 1. A monk was troubled by unchaste thoughts, to which, however, he paid no regard. Then a reliquary, which he wore round his neck, gave him blows on his breast. When the unchaste thoughts disappeared the blows ceased, but they always recommenced when the thoughts returned. 2. Once a holy bishop spent the night in a house haunted by devils, who tried to frighten him in the guise of beasts. But he felt only contempt for the devils who appeared to him as lions, swine, and snakes. Then they fled, for the devil cannot endure contempt. 3. A hermit saw Satan seated on a lofty throne surrounded by other devils. Satan asked each what he had done on earth towards the destruction of mankind. He was dissatisfied with all, though they had effected the ruin of many thousands. Only one devil received praise, because after an effort of forty years he had succeeded in seducing one single monk to unchastity. 4. In every convent several hundred devils are occupied in trying to tempt the members to sin, while for all the inhabitants of a large town a single devil suffices.

From the section on "Obedience": It was revealed to St. Francis during a general Chapter of the Order at Assisi, that there were exactly 18,000 devils collected between Assisi and Portiuncula to discuss how they might do injury to the new Order.

From the section on "The Observance of Rules": A monk was possessed of the devil because he had drunk water without previously making the sign of the Cross

in accordance with the rule. The same thing happened to a nun, who had eaten salad without first crossing herself.*

Imagine the effect of such works of edification on the Jesuit mind! During his novitiate and scholasticate, for at least ten or twelve years, he is exclusively nourished on pious books of this kind. As in the domain of knowledge, so, too, in that of piety, the Jesuit knows only books of Jesuit authorship, and all these must be dressed in the same fashion, and abound in the same pseudo-mysticism, the same cult of the miraculous and unnatural piety. There is no counterweight or antidote for such poisonous piety. He has not even the Bible. For, although the fact would seem the final condemnation of a Christian religious Order, it is yet true that the Gospels play an entirely subordinate part in the system of Jesuit piety.

Though the novice is bound every day to read portions of Thomas à Kempis, Rodriguez, and the Lives of the Saints, no time is appointed for reading the New Testament. And if any one were to seek his ideal by reading the Gospels, instead of these pseudo-mystical works (though the "Imitation of Christ" must be partially exempted from this criticism), he would be severely reprimanded by the Novice-Master. For the Jesuit novice only uses the New Testament to strengthen his memory (*exercitium memoriae*).

This brutal disregard of the Scriptures as a means of edification is unaffected by the fact that the subjects for daily meditation are usually taken from the New Testament. For, as I have already explained, the subjects are set by the Novice-Master, and thus the Scriptures as aids to piety and edification are presented to the novice by an intermediary, and in a fashion which does not

* From *The Practice of Christian Perfection*, Parts I., II., III.

reproduce the pure, simple contents of the words and works of Jesus, but remodels them on to the pseudo-mystical Jesuit pattern. I shall return to this later, when writing of the Exercises.

The Jesuit who has assimilated this kind of piety naturally helps to spread it. And, therefore, wherever the Order is active, superstition and affected piety are rife. Riezler thus sums up the effect produced on the population of Bavaria by generations of Jesuit piety:

"Everywhere the Jesuits introduced the custom of wearing an *Agnus Dei*, a piece of consecrated wax. They induced the Elector Maximilian I. to order that 'henceforth all subjects, men and women, old and young, should provide themselves with a rosary, and learn to recite it in proper fashion, and make use of it on pain of punishment.'"

The belief in devils and in witches connected with it are a natural development of Jesuit piety.

In a former book* I have shown the active part which the Order played in the bloodthirsty and crazy folly of witch-persecution, and have exposed the unhistoric attempts at hushing up the circumstances made by the Jesuit Duhr.† I also show there that the Jesuit Friedrich von Spee was a "white crow" among the Jesuit flock, and that he wrote his *Cautio criminalis* against the belief in witches, not because, but although, he was a Jesuit, and that the Order had no share in the credit which attaches to the book. Riezler, too, a thorough connoisseur of the witch mania, says of Spee:

* *Das Papsttum in seiner sozial-kulturellen Wirksamkeit.* I⁴, 470–509, and 551–571.

† In his *Geschichte der Jesuiten in anderen Ländern deutscher Zunge* (Freiburg, 1907, I., 731–754), Duhr, probably impelled by the conviction of dishonest statements by Riezler, Hansen, and myself, kept closer to the truth than in his earlier publications about the attitude of the Jesuits to the belief in witches. But even in this work of the "conscientious historian," as Duhr emphatically calls himself, the facts are frequently distorted, kept back, or hushed up. And we seek in vain for a recantation of the misstatements which have been brought home to him.

"His merits are indisputable,* but purely personal, and cannot be placed to the credit of the Order." †

Further details of the Jesuit attitude towards the witch question, and the pious use to which this superstition is put, may be found in my book above quoted. Here I will only quote an Instruction, which Friedrich has published from the Jesuit papers at Munich. It contains directions for the Jesuit confessors in their dealings with captive witches.

"On entering the dungeon he must provide himself with all spiritual aids, such as *Agnus Dei*, holy water, and also offer them to the imprisoned witches. . . . He is to use all his influence to induce them to confess the truth to the temporal authorities, and threaten them with eternal destruction. He is to promise them assistance if they exchange the promise made to their familiar devil for a confession of the true faith. He must beware of looking in the eyes of a witch, for the eyes of such women are hurtful to men (*oculi talium mulierum nocent fascino*). The witches are to be asked: Why, and for how long they have served the devil? Whether they have felt any sign of the wrath of God, so that they would rather serve the devil than God? What promises they have made to the devil? (Usually they promise to renounce the Catholic faith wholly or in part, to surrender themselves body and soul to the devil, to sacrifice to him unbaptised children and become his mistresses.) What kind of witchcraft they have been most addicted to? (Some are hurtful to little children, others to cattle, others to the crops.) Into what shape they transform themselves? Whether into wolves, goats, or other beasts. Whether

* Unfortunately Spee's merits do not appear to be altogether "indisputable," since it seems probable that he himself lacked the courage to publish his book. Indiscreet friends seem to have taken the manuscript of the *Cautio* to the printers without Spee's knowledge. (*Cf.* my book, *Das Papsttum*, etc., III., 1, 553.)

† Riezler, *Geschichte Baierns* (Gotha, 1903), 6, 133.

they know the thoughts of those who are present? Whether they cannot dissolve the bond with the devil, if, for instance, they have injured the health of anyone by special signs? (Thus they sometimes make a knot in a rope and as long as this remains there, the pains continue.) From the 'Witch-hammer,' too, questions may be set. The Jesuit must not interfere with the office of the judge, but may be convinced that the trial is a just one, even if the witches maintain their innocence or assert that the confession was wrung from them by torture. Whether they have been re-baptised by the devil, and in what fashion?"

When dealing with Jesuit education I have also shown that the belief in witches was fostered among the boys committed to their charge. The pious works of the Order also abound in proofs of belief in the devil. I may cite some instances:

Weston, the Head of the English Province, towards the close of the sixteenth century published the "Book of Wonders," in which he recorded the most astounding feats of exorcism which he himself had accomplished. The victim who was possessed of a devil had to sit on a stool and drink a "sacred mixture" of whey, oil, goat's rue, and drugs, then his head was held over a dish of burning sulphur, asafœtida, resin, St. John's wort, and goat's rue. Then the exorcism was spoken over the half-suffocated victim.

In Weston's own account of an exorcism of Marwood, he says that he placed his hand on the demoniac's head who at once fell into a fury, and made all to ring with crying, swearing, and blaspheming. "Take away that dreadful hand in the name of all the devils in hell!" was the agonising cry. But the father would not quit his hold. He pursued the devil down his back, his reins, his close parts, his thighs, his legs, *usque ad talos*, and down to his ankle-

bones; then fetching him back along the same route, finally grasped him round the neck. "*Deus immortalis!* Into what a passion was he then cast. Not the tongues of a thousand men (I imagine) can express it."

The names of the devils said to possess the sufferers were: "Frateretto, Flibbertigibbet, Hoberdicat, Cocobatto, Pudding of Thame, Hobberdidance, Lusty Dick, Kellico, Hob, Cornercap, Puff and Purr ('two fat devils'), Kellicorum, Wilkin, Lusty Jolly Jenkins, Bonjour, Pourdieu, Motubizant, Captain Pippin, Captain Fillpot, Hilco, Hiaclito, Smolkin, Lusty Huffcap, Modo, and Malin. When these disappeared it was said that Hobberdidance went off in a whirlwind, Fillpot as a puff of smoke, Lusty Dick as an intolerable stench, while Smolkin escaped from Trayford's ear as a mouse." *

Agricola's history of the Upper German Province abounds in tales of devils worthy of a place in the "Hammer of Witches": "A Jesuit scholar at Lucerne was possessed of the devil, who, when driven out, confessed that a witch who had some time previously been burnt at Lucerne had conjured him into the boy by means of a dog's hair mixed in his food before the boy was a year old. Gradually this devil obtained admittance for others, which entered in the boy when drinking wine or eating apples. The chief devil's name was 'Feather-Jack,' and he had already informed his witch of this (*sagae suae*). The reason why he had only just begun to trouble the boy again, though he was now thirteen years old, was that he had become a member of a Marian congregation. More than ten devils were then driven out of the boy, last of all 'Feather-Jack,' who, in token that he had really left the boy, blew out a wax taper." †

My own experiences in the novitiate and afterwards

* Taunton, *History of the Jesuits in England*. London, 1901. Pp. 157 *et seq.*
† Agricola III., 193 *et seq.*

confirm what has been said about Jesuit piety. In our conversations during the recreations, which were intended to serve the ends of piety, an important place was given to miracles, apparitions, and tales of the devil, stories of the piety even of living Jesuits, fathers who were held in particular respect on account of their age or office. One was supposed to see heavenly visions, another diabolical apparitions, and we estimated their sanctity according to these occurrences. In the dormitory at Exaeten one spot was supposed to be haunted. For a long time my bed stood there, but the only ghost that troubled me was the offensive smell already described.

In the eighties of last century, when I was a theology student at Ditton Hall, the English Jesuits told us the most amazing tales of apparitions of the Madonna and devil, seen by a holy Jesuit scholastic in the Jesuit College at Malta. An eye-witness, an English father, who came from Malta, declared that he had distinctly seen the form of Mary by the bed of the scholastic, and described her as she is usually represented by Catholic artists, dressed in a blue cloak, white dress, with twelve stars around her head.

Reports from over-sea Jesuit missions in Brazil, India, China, were read aloud in public, describing miraculous cures and diabolical possession, etc.

Every year, from March 4th to 12th, in all Jesuit houses a novena was held in honour of St. Francis Xavier. It originated in an apparition of the saint and a miraculous cure thus effected. This novena was known in the Order as the " novena of grace " because any grace then sought would certainly be granted.

In the summer of 1881 we scholastics went with our Rector Hermann Nix on a pilgrimage from Wynandsrade to Aix-la-Chapelle, to visit the " great relics " kept in the Cathedral there, and exhibited every seven years

during the "Procession of the Relics" (*Heiligtumsfahrt*).* These are: the chemise of the Madonna, the swaddling bands of Christ, the loin-cloth worn by Christ on the Cross, the leathern girdle of Christ, the girdle of the Virgin, a piece of the sponge with which drink was given to Christ on the Cross, a piece of the rope with which He was bound to the pillar at the flagellation, the cloth in which the head of John the Baptist was wrapped, a piece of the Cross of Christ.

In order to bring us into the proper frame of mind each of us received a copy of a "Book of the Relics," by the Jesuit Stephan Beissel. I quote a few passages:

"This bridegroom of your soul stands at the door. Behold His swaddling bands and His girdle and His bloody loin-cloth; behold the dress, the girdle, and the many relics of His and thy Mother (Mary). . . . The garment of the most blessed Virgin is a white garment—1½ metres long . . . its material is cotton with a woven pattern. . . . The swaddling bands of Christ, tradition tells us, were woven by Mary herself, not for the child Jesus, but for St. Joseph, who used them as gaiters on his journey to Bethlehem. So poor was Mary in the shelter of the manger that she had naught else in which to wrap her divine infant. Therefore the good St. Joseph offered them to her for her child. And Mary accepted his offer. . . . The loin-cloth of Christ, the only garment which the divine Saviour wore on the Cross, is a coarse piece of white linen. . . . Only the two ends, which were fastened together in a knot round the holy body, kept their whiteness, all the rest is red with the blood of Christ. . . . In the loin-cloth are only remains and traces of the blood of Christ. The sacred blood on it is dead, separated from the holy body and from the soul of Christ, and not transfigured. We cannot therefore

* Last held in July, 1909.

adore it as we adore the blood and body of Christ in the blessed Sacrament. . . . Still we ought to honour the blood in the loin-cloth more than all the other relics of Christ, because this blood was more a part of Him, and more intimately connected with Him. . . . The sacramental blessing is given many times in the year, the blessing with the loin-cloth only once in seven years, and then only during the Procession of the Relics from the Cathedral. . . . The divine Saviour once said to His apostles: 'Blessed are the eyes which behold what ye behold.' These words apply to all the pilgrims who behold the relics. But they apply chiefly to those who pass by them in the afternoon, because these not only have a better and closer view of the greater relics, but also see the most precious of the smaller ones, *e.g.* the veil of the dear Mother of God, and her girdle, and large portions of the girdle and ropes of Christ. . . . Pray in thy heart: 'By thy girdle, oh, most blessed Virgin, I beseech thee for the grace of the purity suited to my condition.' " *

Beissel, the author of this pious document, is one of the editors of the Jesuit journal, *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, and is regarded in the German Province as an authority on Christian art and archæology. And, in fact, some of his books possess a certain scholarly value. I mention this, because it throws a light on Jesuit piety; learned and unlearned Jesuits alike are pious after the same fashion. They are saturated with the pseudo-piety of the Order. Individual healthy common sense and recognition of what is fitting in religion have perished in the swamp of official Jesuit superstition.

* *Heiligtumsbüchlein, Anleitung zu einer frommen Feier der Heiligtumsfahrt. Mit Abbildung der vier grossen Heiligtümer.* Aix, 1881. pp. 4, 7, 11, 13, 15, 16, 21, 22.

CHAPTER XII

THE ASCETIC DISCIPLINE OF THE JESUIT ORDER

THIS, too, is in sharp contrast to the asceticism of Christ. The asceticism of the Gospels aims at union with God by the development of our own individuality, while the aim of Jesuit asceticism is exclusively the fashioning of suitable and unreasoning implements for the Order and complete repression of all individuality. The means to this end, which is also the theoretical basis of the whole Jesuit ascetic scheme, is obedience. Its place in the Jesuit system and the peculiar character which the Constitutions give it in opposition to all Christianity and morality are worth detailed consideration.

I quote the most important passages from the Constitutions :—

"It is especially profitable and very necessary that all should give themselves up to perfect obedience, and look upon the Superior, whoever he may be, as the representative of Christ the Lord, and show sincere reverence and love towards him, and obey him, not only in the outward execution of his orders, . . . but also strive to attain to inward resignation and genuine disregard of their own will and judgment, bringing their own judgment and will into complete accord with the will and judgment of the Superior in all things (so that it be not recognised as sinful), and place before them the judgment and will of the Superior instead of their own, that they may more closely resemble the first and greatest standard of all good will and judgment, which is the everlasting goodness and wisdom."*

* Const. III., 1, 23; Summarium, 31.

"All should especially regard obedience, and seek to be distinguished in it; not only in matters of duty, but in others too, if only a sign on the part of the Superior is observed, without an express command. . . . We should strain every nerve to attain the virtue of obedience, in the first place towards the Pope, then the Superiors of the Society, so as to be ready for anything to which obedience with love may extend, and hearken to his voice as though it were the voice of Christ (for it is out of love and reverence for Him that we show obedience), leaving anything we may have begun, even a single letter unfinished, directing all our strength and intentions in the Lord to the perfection of holy obedience in execution, will, and understanding, doing with the greatest speed and with spiritual joy and steadfastness whatever commands are laid upon us. And we must regard everything as right, and in blind obedience renounce every opposing opinion, and this in the case of every command of the Superior, except where it can be shown (*ubi definiri non possit*) that a sin of any kind is intended. All are to be assured that he who lives in obedience must allow himself to be directed by Divine Providence through his Superiors as though he were a corpse, which may be carried hither and thither in any fashion, or an old man's staff, which serves its owner where and how he pleases. . . . All matters in which no evident sin is involved (*in quibus nullum manifestum est peccatum*) are subject to such obedience.* In regard to execution, obedience is manifested by carrying out the order; in regard to the will, it is manifested when he who obeys wills the same thing as he who commands; in regard to the understanding, when he thinks the same, and regards the command laid on him as right. That obedience is incomplete which does not include agreement of will and understanding between him who commands and him who obeys, as well as in execution.†

* This important passage on obedience, which excludes from its purview only "evident sin" and that which can be defined as sin, appears to the Order to be so important that *Declaratio* C, in which it is embodied, is particularly noted, although in the *Prooemium* to the Constitutions the equal validity of the Declarations has been pointed out. "These Declarations, which are published together with the Constitutions, have the same authority as these (*eandem, quam illae auctoritatem habent*). And the same care must be taken in the observance of both." (Const. VI., 1, Declar. A.)

† Const. VI. 1, 1, and Declar. B and C; Summarium, 35, 36.

" All should in perfect obedience leave to their Superior the free disposition of themselves and their affairs. . . . And not in any case show that their own judgment is opposed to that of the Superior." *

A significant addendum to these passages from the Constitutions is to be found in a letter of Ignatius: " On the virtue of obedience " (*de virtute obedientiae*). It was addressed to the Portuguese province, but, of course, the document was intended for the whole Order, and, as one of its rules, was adopted in the Constitutions.

". . . . By all means let other religious orders excel us in fasting, vigils and other privations, which the rule of their Order bids them observe; but, my beloved brethren, all who serve our God and Lord in this Society must excel in true and complete obedience, and the surrender of their own will and judgment; and the true and genuine offspring of this Society is to be distinguished by that token. . . . I greatly desire that you should know this too, and lay it in your hearts, that the obedience which only outwardly executes an order is inferior and incomplete, and does not even merit the name of virtue, unless it rises to the second grade, by taking as its own the will of the Superior and entering into such agreement with him as to produce not only outward execution of the command, but also such inward accord that both may will or not will the same thing. That is why the Holy Scriptures say ' Obedience is better than sacrifice ' ; for as St. Gregory teaches, in sacrifice the flesh of others is slain, in obedience our own will (*mactatur*). . . . Therefore, beloved brethren, lay aside your own will, as far as may be, and surrender and sacrifice your freedom, through His servants to your Creator, Who gave it you. . . . Whoever then would attain to the virtue of obedience must rise to this second degree of obedience, and not merely carry out the orders of his Superior, but also make the will of his Superior his own, or rather divest himself of his own, and put on the divine will presented to him by his Superior. But whoever wishes to surrender himself completely to God must attain the third degree

* Const. IV., 10, 5.

of obedience by sacrificing his understanding as well as his will, so that he may not only will, but also think, the same as his Superior, and subject his judgment to his Superior, in so far as a pious will can subdue the reason. For although this intellectual power is not endowed with the same freedom as the will, and although its assent would naturally be given where the appearance of truth is seen, yet in many matters, where the evidence of the truth that is recognised does it no violence, the weight of the will can move it in one direction rather than another. When such cases occur, everyone who recognises the duty of obedience must incline to the view of the Superior. For as obedience is a complete sacrifice through which the whole man, without any curtailment, sacrifices himself to his Creator and Lord through the hands of His servants in the fire of love, as it signifies a complete surrender, in which the member voluntarily renounces all his rights, in order to surrender and dedicate himself to Divine Providence under the direction of his Superior, to be directed and owned, it cannot be denied that obedience includes not only the execution of commands and the will to obey them gladly, but also the judgment, so that whatever the Superior feels and thinks may also seem to the subordinate to be true and right, so far, as I have said, as the will by its power can control the understanding. . . : Unless this obedience of the understanding is present, the accord between will and execution cannot be complete. . . : And we also lose the blind simplicity of obedience when we weigh in our minds whether the commands of the Superior are right or wrong. . . . Therefore obedience, though in the first place it seems to complete the will, making it ready and pliant for the Superior's command, must also, as I have explained, extend to the understanding, and influence it to think the same as the Superior. : . : In the first place, as I stated in the beginning, you must not see in the person of the Superior a man subject to errors and weaknesses, but rather Christ Himself, Who is the highest wisdom, unending goodness, immeasurable love, Who cannot be deceived and will not deceive you. : . : Strive with zeal always to defend even to yourselves the commands of the Superior and never blame them. : : : Be assured that whatever the Superior command is the command and will of God, and just as you are prepared at once with your whole mind and consent to

believe everything that the Catholic Faith declares, so you should let yourselves be driven with a sort of blind impulse of the will that strives eagerly after obedience to do whatever the Superior bids. Thus did Abraham, when he was bidden to sacrifice his son Isaac; thus did the Abbot John, when with great and continuous efforts he watered dry wood for a whole year. . . . This subjection of the judgment and this approval without examination of whatever the Superior may command, . . . is worthy to be imitated in all things by all who strive after perfect obedience in all matters not concerned with evident sin. Still, if anything differing from the opinion of the Superior occurs to you, and it seems good to you, after first praying humbly to the Lord, to set it before the Superior, you are not forbidden to do so. But that you may not be deceived by self-love and your own judgment, you should be careful to be of a perfectly equable mind before and after making your statement, whether you are bidden to do or not to do the matter in hand, and that you approve and regard as best whatever is pleasing to the Superior. . . . I beseech you, by Christ, our Lord, . . . take pains to conquer and overcome the higher and more difficult parts of your mind, the reason and judgment." Rome, March 26th, 1553.*

Never were more unchristian commands laid down under the guise of religion and Christianity, nor more immoral doctrines in the disguise of ethics and morality. Never have the words Religion, Christianity, and Christ been more insolently and shamelessly misused than here in the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and in the letter of its founder. The dignity which a human being, according to Christian doctrine, possesses in the eyes of God, his moral being, made up of reason and will, his moral self-consciousness, and his personal responsibility are completely destroyed. We see before us not a man, not even a trained animal, but only a staff, a corpse, a thing.

Is it necessary to bring proofs for this accusation?

* Inst. S.J. (Roman Edition), II., 27–33.

The wording justifies my statement. Still it may be well to summarise its main points.

1. He who obeys must will and think the same as he who commands.

2. He who obeys must approve the command.

3. He must in no way show that his own opinion is opposed to the judgment of the Superior.

4. His attitude towards his Superior must be that of a corpse or a stick which can be placed and moved hither and thither in any way whatever.

5. He must abdicate his own judgment and will.

6. He must make the will of the Superior his own, or rather he must divest himself of his will and put on the divine will as expounded by his Superior.

7. He is to abdicate completely and surrender all his own rights.

8. He must judge that whatever the Superior commands and thinks is right and true.

9. He forfeits the merit of simple obedience, if he ponders in himself whether the commands of the Superior are right or not.

10. He must subdue his own judgment and approve and think right, without any examination, all the commands of his Superior.

11. He must zealously endeavour always to defend whatever the Superior commands or thinks, and never blame it.

12. He must feel certain that whatever the Superior commands is the command and will of God.

13. Just as he is ready to believe whatever the Catholic Church declares, so he must, with a sort of blind impulse, without any examination, do whatever the Superior bids him.

14. He must see in the Superior, not a human being subject to error, but Christ, Who cannot err.

In the face of these fourteen commands, which are so many devices for stifling the reason and will, the reservations with regard to sin have absolutely no significance. How can anyone prove whether a command is sinful, if he is to obey " without any examination," if he " may not ponder " whether the commands of the Superior are right or not, if he is to divest himself completely of his reason and will, if his attitude towards his Superior is to be that of a corpse or a stick, if he may not show in any way that his own judgment is in opposition to that of his Superior, if he is to recognise in the Superior not a man liable to error, but the Christ Himself, who cannot err ?

Even the wording of the reservations reveals their meaninglessness. It is necessary to obey always and everywhere, so long as it cannot be determined (*definiri*) that any kind of sin is concerned, or so long as it not a question of evident (*manifestum*) sin. If then it is not a case of manifest sin—and how many such there are !—if the sin involved in the command is not so manifest that it can at once be determined as such, he must obey. And besides, it is important to remember this—the subordinate is not permitted to examine and test the command of the Superior, and indeed is compelled at once to regard as good and right all that his Superior commands. What opportunity then remains for refusing obedience to a sinful command ?

Nay, more. Ignatius does not hesitate even to represent as an object of obedience actual sin and manifest sin.

"Thus," he writes, "impelled by a blind impulse to obey without any examination, did Abraham act, when he was bidden to sacrifice his son Isaac."

It is impossible for theology or piety to dispute away the fact that God laid a sinful command on Abraham, no matter whether He had the will and the power to prevent the sinful act at the last moment. And this obedience,

concerned with manifest sin, the murder of a child, is presented by the founder of the Jesuit Order as worthy of imitation, nay, the highest stage of perfection!

And he goes even further. For in the Constitutions he calls upon the Superiors occasionally to demand from their subordinates a Sacrifice of Abraham.

"It will be profitable for the Superiors at times . . . for their greater spiritual profit to try them in the fashion in which the Lord tried Abraham." *

No, the reservations in regard to what is sinful are simply made—I do not hesitate to say it!—in order to prevent the abysmal immorality and the truly inhuman character of Jesuit obedience from being too plainly seen, or in the best case, because the author of such shameful theories wished to satisfy his own conscience with some phrases of reservation.

The immorality necessitates a lack of Christianity, as may be shown by a brief reference to the New Testament. Christ and the apostles also demanded obedience. But of what nature? The right, or rather the duty, of examination was left unimpaired.

Christ rejects blind obedience and discipleship. He bids us "Search the scriptures, for . . . they are they which testify of Me." And the same right of judgment in regard to Christ and His teaching is implied in the words of the Samaritans to the woman of Samaria: "Now we believe, not because of thy saying, for we have heard Him ourselves, and know that this is indeed the Christ, the Saviour of the world."

In the sayings of the disciples, too, the doctrine of reasoned obedience, that which rests on the recognition of the reason, is most clearly expressed:

"By manifestation of the truth commending ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God" (2 Cor.

* Const. III. 1, Declar. V., Inst. S.J. I. 43.

iv. 2) "Proving what is acceptable unto the Lord" (Eph. v. 10). "That ye may prove what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God" (Rom. xii. 2). "That ye may approve things that are excellent" (Phil. i. 10). "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good" (1 Thess. v. 21). "But strong meat belongeth to them that are of full age, even those who by reason of use have their senses exercised to discern both good and evil" (Heb. v. 14). "Believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God" (1 John iv. 1).

All these quotations contrast sharply with the demands of Jesuit obedience.

One passage in the letter of Ignatius deserves special remark. He insists that, just as the reason and the will are to submit without question to the infallible dogmas of the Church, so subjection to the commands of the Jesuit Superior is necessary. Here we find the characteristic and acme of Jesuit obedience, it must be blind. For a Catholic may not examine the infallible dogmas of his Church to see whether they are true and good; even to attempt such an examination is sin. And this is also to be the attitude of the obedient Jesuit.

A strong light is thrown on this blind submission by the rules of Ignatius "which teach a right feeling towards the Church." They are an addition to the Exercises:

"With absolute annihilation of our own judgment (*sublato proprio omni judicio*) our minds must ever be ready to obey the true bride of Christ, our holy mother, the orthodox, Catholic, and hierarchic Church. . . . Finally, that we may be in complete accord and harmony with the Catholic Church, we must, if anything appears to our eyes white, which the Church declares to be black, also declare it to be black (*si quid quod oculis nostris apparet*

album, nigrum illa esse definierit, debemus itidem, quod nigrum sit, pronuntiare)." *

As therefore, according to Ignatius, the infallible Church and Jesuit Superior enjoy equal respect (to say nothing of the comparison with Christ already quoted), it follows that the obedient Jesuit at the command of his Superior must declare as white (not sinful) that which he himself regards as black (sinful).

There is, therefore, no possible doubt that in this way the obedience and ascetic discipline of the Jesuit Order lead to sin, *i.e.* that they can compel the Jesuit to sin. I say " in this way " advisedly, for the usual way of trying to establish the compulsion to sin within the Order is a mistaken one.

The fifth chapter of Part VI. of the Constitutions lays it down that all constitutions, declarations, and instructions are only obligatory under penalty of greater or lesser sin (*obligationem ad peccatum mortale vel veniale inducere*) when the Superior commands anything in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ or in virtue of His obedience. This is the passage so commonly misunderstood and brought as a reproach against the Order, to the effect that the Jesuit Superior by the power of obedience can compel to sin (*obligare ad peccatum*). That this accusation has no foundation either in the sense or the wording of this passage should never have been open to doubt. For it is a matter of absolute certainty that the expression *obligare ad peccatum* in the Latin jargon of the medieval and even of the later ecclesiastical orders (Dominicans, Franciscans, and Jesuits) bears the meaning " under pain of sin " and not " compulsion to sin." Bishop von Ketteler has given a striking demonstration of the untenability of the reproach directed against this passage of the Constitutions in his pamphlet " Can a Jesuit be

* Inst. S.J., II., 416, 417.

compelled by his Superior to sin?" Still the negative answer given by Ketteler to the question as a whole, whether a Jesuit can be compelled to sin, is, as already shown, not accurate.*

For the immoral and unchristian commands in its theory of obedience the Jesuit Order has only one defence: the Constitutions, in which they are contained, were sanctioned by the Pope. Thus they take shelter behind the divinity of the Papacy.

There is no need for me to dwell on this defence. In a previous book I have touched on the divinity of the Pope, and the judgment pronounced on it by history in view of the actions and doctrines of the Popes.† In the course of centuries the Papacy has covered many immoral and damnable doctrines with its "divine" authority, and in like wise it covers the immoral and damnable Jesuit doctrine of obedience.

And this doctrine has given offence even in clerical Catholic circles, though without any lasting result. The letter of Ignatius on obedience was severely censured by the Spanish Inquisition, and afterwards, under Sixtus V., by the Consultors of the Roman Inquisition, and only the influence of the Jesuit Cardinal Bellarmin saved it from condemnation by the Congregation of the Inquisition. A French Jesuit, Julian Vincent, who in the year 1588 denounced the letter to the Inquisition as heretical, was, at the instigation of the Order, thrown into the Inquisition prison and afterwards declared insane.‡ The Inquisition was in a sense compelled to overlook the moral and theo-

* *Kann ein Jesuit von seinem Oberen zu einer Sünde verpflichtet werden* (Mayence, 1874). I mention this pamphlet, because I had some share in it, as Bone, the Director of the Gymnasium, whom Ketteler consulted as a philological authority, gave me some passages of his report on the wording to copy for him.

† *Das Papsttum in seiner sozial-kulturellen Wirksamkeit* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel), 5th Ed.

‡ Crétineau-Joly, *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, II., 259, 264. Döllinger-Reusch, *Selbstbiographie des Kardinals Bellarmin*, p. 110.

logical objections to the letter, as the Constitutions of the Order, which laid down the same principles on the subject of obedience, had received the sanction of several Popes.

An interesting addendum to the letter of Ignatius, as well as a testimony to the respect in which it is naturally held in the Order, may be found in an official Instruction to the Superiors issued by the General Claudius Acquaviva in 1604. After laying it down that the letter of Ignatius is to be read by all again and again at short intervals, he continues :

" The completeness of the obedience is indicated by the comparison in the Constitutions to corpses and sticks; but this is not to prevent a Jesuit, after first offering prayer and with inward equanimity, from making representations to the Superior, so long as these representations do nothing else than represent, *i.e.* place the whole case before the Superior, leaving to him the care of the matter represented (*ut vere nihil aliud sit, quam representare, hoc est, ob oculos Superioris ponere, totam ei curam rei expositae relinquendo*)."*

In face of this, of what practical use are representations which, as we have already seen, the Constitutions and the letter allow to the subordinates ?

As regards the injunction of Acquaviva to read the letter often, it is the present custom in the Order to read it at least once a month during meals.

The conception prevailing in the Order as to the blind obedience enjoined in the Constitutions is instructively shown by some statements, three of which are of special importance, two because they were not intended for publication and one because it gives distinct expression to the obligation indirectly implied, to obey sinful commands as well as others.

* *Instruct. de spiritu ad Superiores : De Obedientia*, IV., 1, 2 ; Inst. S.J., II., 269.

A Memorial of the Jesuit College at Munich expounds the 35th and 36th rules on Obedience:

"He obeys blindly, who, like a corpse or the staff of an old man with neither feeling nor judgment, obeys as though his own judgment were so fettered and, as it were, overshadowed that he can neither judge nor see anything for himself, but has acquired a new judgment, that of the Superior, and this so completely and perfectly that whatever the Superior judges and feels he also actually judges and feels the same and nothing different, and that this judgment becomes his own unalloyed and natural judgment. This is the power of true self-abnegation and true self-blinding (*excaecatio*), to be driven no longer by our own impulse but by that of others."*

From a manuscript document which Kelle publishes from the Vienna Court Library:

"If you are commanded anything by the Superior which seems opposed to your own judgment, opinion or power, cast aside all human reasoning and consideration, fall on your knees and renew, when you are alone, the vow of obedience."†

The Jesuit Antonius de Sarasa in his great ascetic work which has gone through so many editions, "*Ars semper gaudendi*," treats of the difficulty which may be occasioned to the subordinate, if the Superior commands anything that seems to him unlawful (*illicitum*). He solves the difficulty by means of this thesis:

"The conscience may permissibly adopt the probable opinion of another, opposed to its own, which maintains that the matter in question is not permitted." And further on he says: "But what if this opinion of another is that of his Superior, and he

* Reusch, *Archivalische Beiträge: Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 1895, Vol. XV. p. 263.

† Codex No. 10578, p. 66, from Kelle, *Die Jesuitengymnasien in Oesterreich* (Munich, 1876), p. 12.

commands something which his subordinate regards as not permissible [sinful]? May he refuse to obey? In the view of the theologian [quoted, whom Sarasa designates as "weighty and learned"] the subordinate must refuse to obey his Superior. But that this is not permitted in the case in question, is expressly taught by [the Jesuit] Vasquez and others. And indeed, if the view [that it is not necessary to obey the sinful command] were correct, a broad and easy way would lie open for disregarding the commands of the Superior, without the possibility of punishment for disobedience.*

The Jesuit Bartoli says:

"He [Loyola] desired to have corpses, *i.e.* bodies which no longer feel and offer no opposition, however they may be turned or moved. . . . More even than corpses, he desired only passive things, with no activity to help in moving or disposing of themselves, but only in the fashion of the lower agencies, which at the moment when they are moved for action unite their own qualities with the impression of the powers communicated to them from above [*i.e.* by the higher agency, the Superior], so that the two are combined into a single agency. This is what I meant by the union of a man's own will and judgment with the execution of the command through the will and judgment of the Superior."†

The Jesuit Alonzo Rodriguez says:

"Obedience is the essential virtue of the Order. . . . It is better pleasing to God than all sacrifices which can be offered to Him, and includes in itself Chastity, Poverty and all other virtues. . . . This is no exaggeration, but an irrefutable verity. . . . We should also make our judgment conform to that of our Superior, so that we may always be in accord with his views and regard all his commands as good. . . . If we enter an Order we must be content to lay our own wills in the grave. . . . The third grade of obedience consists in the uniformity of our reason with that of the Superior, so that we . . . may hold as reasonable everything that he commands, and submit our judgment absolutely to his. . . .

* *Ars semper gaudendi*, Edit. 4 (Francofurti et Lipsiae, 1750), II., 108.

† Quoted by Gioberti, *Il Gesuita Moderno*.

Incomplete obedience has two eyes, to its own injury; complete obedience is blind. . . . Let us, therefore, be as though completely dead. A corpse neither sees, nor answers. Thus we, too, should have no eyes . . . no words, to make objection to that which obedience enjoins. . . . Let us assume that Christ Himself should appear to you, and command you to do this or that . . . it would never even occur to you to pass judgment on His commands; you would not feel the slightest doubt whether it was good or evil, but would blindly execute His command. . . . If you see in your Superior, not a human being subject to error, but Christ Himself, Who is the highest wisdom, goodness and love, Who can neither err nor lead you into error, all your doubts and considerations will be at an end."*

It is almost self-understood that the Jesuit Order should employ in the glorification of its theory of obedience one of its favourite artifices—miracles and visions. From among numerous visions in honour of obedience, I will quote one of the most characteristic, which is also an excellent specimen of Jesuit arrogance. According to the statement of the Jesuit Mansonius, Provincial of the Neapolitan Province, Christ said to the blessed Virgin, Joanna ab Alexandro, the penitent of Mansonius, on June 7th, 1598, in the Jesuit Church at Naples:

"The obedience which I require from the members of My [note the arrogance!] Society, is blind obedience, that they should regard the least hint from their Superior; and it is My desire that they should put off their own will completely. . . . I have vouchsafed this vision to thee, all unworthy as thou art, as a reward for the obedience which thou hast shown to [the Jesuit] Father Louis; all this must thou relate to him and hearken to his pious commands."†

What more is needed? Christ Himself, in a vision sixteen centuries after His death, declares in favour of the blind obedience of "His" Society.

* Rodriguez, *Practice of Christian Perfection*, Book III.

† *See* Döllinger-Reusch, *Moralstreitigkeiten*, I., 528 *et seq.*, and II., 346

Such are the principles according to which the ascetic discipline of the Society of Jesus, using obedience as its most powerful lever, achieves the completest possible suppression of individual will and reason—the annihilation of the individual.

What form, then, does Jesuit ascetic discipline take in practice ? What means does it employ with help of these fundamentals ?

Practice of the Jesuit Ascetic Discipline.

In Part VIII. of the Constitutions (1, 6) we read :

" The more dependent are the subordinates on the Superiors, the better for the maintenance of mutual love, obedience and unity."

From the point of view of rightful love, rightful obedience and rightful unity, this rule of dependence is false. But it hits the nail on the head from the Jesuit point of view.

Dependence on the Superior is the powerful lever which, working day and night, pares and polishes the individuals until gradually, no matter how numerous or how various they may have been, they are transformed into an absolutely uniform Jesuit mass, in which certainly love, obedience and unity prevail unhindered.

The greater the inner dependence on others, the more does individuality tend to disappear. The practice of Jesuit discipline rests on this psychological truth. The Jesuit individual cannot make a movement, cannot move hand or foot, take a step forward or backward, to left or right, either in the affairs of ordinary life or in the sphere of virtue or knowledge ; nor can a wish or thought take shape in him, without the knowledge, without the consent or the directing influence of the Superior, *i.e.* of the Order. In this way everything which was the peculiar

possession of the individual tends to vanish, and Jesuit discipline has attained what was desired by its founder, Ignatius Loyola, "the destruction of the individual will."*

I propose to set before my readers four main instruments for the perpetration of this murder, which, in the truest sense, is human murder. These are: The Statement of Conscience, the Espionage system, Confession, and the Exercises. About these four chief methods are grouped a number of lesser ones, which must also be considered.

The Statement of Conscience *(Ratio conscientiae)*.

I have already pointed out that confession, even when utilised in Jesuit fashion, does not suffice the Order for securing the subjection and dependence of its members. Accordingly, it prescribes in its Constitutions:

"The subordinates should be transparent to their Superiors, in order that they may be the better guided and governed and directed by them into the path of the Lord. And, further, the more exactly the Superiors are acquainted with all the inner and outer concerns of their subordinates, with so much the greater diligence, love and care will they be able to help them and preserve their souls from the various ills and dangers which might befall them on their way. . . . In order that such missions may be the better conducted, according to the will of God, by sending these and not those, or these for that office, those for another, it is not only of great, but even of the utmost importance that

* A former student of the Jesuit *Collegium Germanicum* in Rome, where young men are trained for the work of spiritual direction in Germany, Austria and Hungary, said to Professor Friedrich, in 1870: "I regret the time which I spent in this institution. The aim which the Jesuits seek to attain is to break the will of the young men and destroy their character. With the Germans they succeed most easily and in the majority of cases, but not with the Hungarians. Of these on an average one-third go crazy, one-third die, and only the last third survives the method." (Friedrich, *Tagebuch*, 2nd Edition, 1873, p. 144.)

the Superior should have a complete knowledge of the inclinations and thoughts of those who are under his charge, and the failings and sins to which they were and are more inclined or easily incited."*

Of course, this demand of dependence does not lack the stamp of religion and asceticism. In the Constitutions (III., 1, 12) we read: An introductory statement lays it down that:

"Pondering this matter before the Lord in the face of the Divine Majesty, it seemed to us that it would be most advantageous if the subordinates, etc. . . ."

"They should be admonished that they must keep secret no temptation which they do not reveal to the Confessor or Superior; they should rather rejoice in the complete revelation of their whole soul; nor should they reveal only their faults, but also their penances, mortifications, devotions and virtues, desiring with a pure will to be directed by them whenever they deviate from the right path; not wishing to be guided by their own senses, unless they accord with the judgment of those whom they regard in the place of our Lord Christ."†

"They must conceal no thought or occurrence from the Superior; rather it should be their wish that the Superiors should be exactly informed of everything, that they may be the better guided on the path of salvation and perfection." ‡

"Whoever then desires to follow this Society in the Lord and remain therein to the greater glory of God must . . . . under the seal of confession, secrecy, or in any fashion that pleases him and tends to his greater consolation, unveil his conscience with great humility, purity and love, keeping back nothing in which he has offended the Lord of all things, and he is to reveal his

* Exam. gen., IV., 34, 35.
† Const. III., 1, 12.
‡ Const. VI., 1, 2; Summarium, 40.

whole past life, or at any rate the matters of greater importance to the Head of the Society, or to whichever of the Superiors or others this charge may be given, in order that he may proceed in all things with increased grace to the greater honour of the divine excellence." *

From these injunctions was developed the *Ratio Conscientiae*, which is concerned with the following points :

Whether a man is happy in his vocation. What is his attitude towards obedience, even of the understanding, towards poverty and chastity and the other virtues, and which of them he pursues most zealously. Whether he is troubled by mental anxieties or persistent temptations ; with what ease or difficulty or in what manner he resists them ; to what emotions or sins he is most inclined or attracted. Whether he has formed any judgment contrary to the Constitutions, or any rule or injunction of the Superiors, or has spoken against them. What is his opinion of the Institute of the Society, and the means of which it makes use in order to attain its ends, and what spiritual zeal animates him. What are his feelings in regard to spiritual things ; how much time he gives to prayer, and whether he finds most support in oral or meditative prayer. Whether he finds consolation and edification in the use of spiritual things, or suffers rather from despair, aridity and distraction of spirit, and what is his attitude in these matters. What profit he derives from the Communion, Confession, and Conscience-Searching, especially the " particular examination," and from the other spiritual practices. Whether the progress has been greater or less since the last statement of conscience, and what is his disposition towards the attainment of perfection. How he observes those parts of the

† Exam. gen., IV., 36.

Constitutions and Rules, whether the general ones or those for the special officials, which refer to himself. Concerning mortification and penance and other practices which contribute to spiritual progress, and especially readiness to endure insults, and all else that belongs to the cross of Christ and the desire therefor. Concerning his fellow members, and how by means of intercourse with them he may progress in the Lord, and whether he is on more intimate terms with one than another. Whether he feels dislike for any, whether he has been offended by the Superiors, officials, or any others, and how he is disposed towards the Superiors. Whether he has undergone temptations which were known to others, especially in regard to his vocation.*

This Statement of Conscience is made regularly and frequently, once a week by a novice, once a month by a scholastic; and they must also make it twice a year to the Rector, and once to the Provincial. This significant addendum occurs several times in the Constitutions: "And also as often as it may seem good to the Superior."†

Thus it is left entirely to the arbitrary decision of the Superior to decide when, where, and how often he is to penetrate into the innermost being of his subordinates, to search it with all its emotions, rob it of its individuality and stamp each of its folds and its innermost corners with the mark of the Order.

The disclosures made by the subordinate to his Superior at confession are, at any rate apparently, preserved from wrongful use by the seal of confession.‡ Not so in the Statement of Conscience. Its expressed aim is to enable

* *Instructio ad reddendam rationem conscientiae*, Inst. S.J. II., 33 *et seq.*

† Const. VI., 1, 2; Exam. gen., IV., 40; Summ. Con., 40.

‡ *Sigillum Confessionis.* Cf. *Das Papsttum in seiner sozial-kulturellen Wirksamkeit*, II., 563.

the Superior "so to order and arrange" everything that concerns those who thus make these self-revelations, "as may be suited to the general body of the Society." *

To emphasise the secrecy of the Statement of Conscience, and maintain that it is respected, is therefore a meaningless assertion, since it contradicts the above-quoted passage in the Constitutions, according to which the aim of the revelations to be made by the subordinate members is the advantage of the general body.

Indeed a response (*responsum*) sent on May 13th, 1675, by the General Oliva to the Upper German Province shows plainly enough how matters really stand in regard to secrecy. This response, which was not intended for publication, reads thus:

"In spite of the rule of secrecy the Statement of Conscience may prove advantageous for the outward direction. For although a Superior is not allowed to communicate to another anything which his subordinates have revealed to him in the Statement of Conscience, still the Superior can, if the communication has not been made under the seal of confession, apply some external means to cure or check the evils. And if the matter necessitates it, the Superior may induce the subordinate to communicate some of the statements made in confession outside the confessional, or at any rate to be content that the Superior should make use of the knowledge acquired in the Statement of Conscience for his outward direction, without anyone being informed by the Superior as to the reason of his acting in this manner."†

It is a mere pretence too, when, as here and also in VI., 1, 2 of the Constitutions, permission is given to make

* Exam. gen., IV., 35.

† From the Jesuit papers in the Munich State Archives, Friedrich, *Beiträge*, p. 83.

the Statement of Conscience in the form of a confession, *i.e.* under the seal of confession.

For the assumption of the inviolability of the confession would annul the expressly stated object of the Statement of Conscience. Still, as I shall presently show, under the Jesuit system even the seal of confession affords no safeguard. And I may state from my own experience that, though I made no fewer than 350 statements of conscience in my Jesuit days, the suggestion that it might be done under the seal of confession was never once made. And my experience is that of others.

It is easy, therefore, to understand why the Order reckons the Statement of Conscience among the essentials of its Institutions (*substantialia Instituti*).* And it is no less easy to see that the Statement of Conscience forms an essential part of the cruel war of annihilation which each Jesuit has to wage against his individuality. The most painful and severe outward penances are mere child's play in comparison with the Statement of Conscience. For the individual feels instinctively, even if he lacks the clear recognition of the fact, that it sets the axe to the root of his own being. It is not therefore surprising that a dull consciousness of the burden and disgrace of the Statement of Conscience has called forth a feeling of strong repugnance to it in the Order, for mother-nature survives even here, at any rate for a while. We get an inkling of this from an instruction by the General Acquaviva of the year 1600, which designates the repugnance to the Statement of Conscience as a " very dangerous disease of the soul " (*morbus plane periculosus*).† But the Order keeps down with a hand of iron any revolt in its ranks against the Statement of Conscience, and every

* Congregat. V., Decret. 58.

† *Industriae ad curandos animae morbos*, c. 13. Inst. S.J., II. 351.

year it uses it as a means for the destruction of hundreds of existences.

Comprehensive and detailed as is this statement, and complete as is the surrender of the subordinates to their Superior which it involves, its full efficacy still depends on the good will of the person who makes it; for it is only he who can reveal his inner being to the Superior. Now it is doubtless true from the point of view of the Order that the unbroken habit, beginning with the first day of the novitiate, reduces to a minimum the risk of reservation of any secrets, especially as the great majority of Jesuits enter the Order as undeveloped youths, little more than boys. They are like wax, and they become wax in the hands of the Order. It is therefore almost unimaginable that they could offer resistance to making a full and sincere statement of conscience. Still there always remains the possibility. This is averted in the Order by adding to the Statement of Conscience, in which every man is his own accuser, a system of denunciation, which sets all against one, one against all. Thus the Order is furnished with an excellent addition to the Statement of Conscience. And closely connected with a carefully fostered system of denunciation is a minutely developed scheme of levelling uniformity.

THE JESUIT SYSTEM OF ESPIONAGE AND UNIFORMITY

The Constitutions dealing with denunciation (*delatio*).

"To promote greater spiritual progress and especially greater submission and humility the novice should be asked whether he is content that all his errors and faults, and in fact everything that is observed and noted in him, should be reported to the Superior by anyone who has become acquainted with them outside the con-

fessional. Whether he is also content (a thing he should do himself, and everyone else too) to be himself corrected by others and to contribute to the correction of others; and whether they are prepared to reveal themselves to one another, with all due love, for greater spiritual progress, especially when it is prescribed by the Superior who has charge over them, or when he makes inquiries about it, to the greater glory of God." *

This denunciation order was expounded by the Sixth General Congregation.

All are permitted to reveal to the Superior as to a father every fault committed by another, be it great or small; that is the meaning of the rule. "As in Chapter IV. of the *Examen generale* it is set before all, and all are asked if they are content that all their faults and anything that may be observed in them, should be communicated to the Superior, our members in so doing themselves renounce their rights to a good reputation which is opposed to this manifestation, and give all permission to report to the Superior everything, even a grievous fault, that they may have observed in them." Even those who have been consulted on account of some grievous error that has been committed may, "for especial and weighty reasons," acquaint the Superior with the fault entrusted to them under the seal of secrecy (though, as a rule, they should not do so), but before so acting they must "carefully study theological authors, in order to proceed prudently and cautiously."†

In these words lie hidden the general outlines of the system of denunciation which permeates the Jesuit Order from top to bottom, and which enables it to obtain the most intimate knowledge of each individual, even without his own help, with the object of shaping him inwardly and outwardly according to the standard and

* Exam. gen., IV., 8; Summar. 9, 10.
† Congr. VI., Decret. 32, 1–4.

pattern of the Order, thus to merge human individuals into a Jesuit mass.

In Chapter V. I quoted a very interesting document by a Jesuit Provincial in which denunciation was designated as the " eye " and salvation of the Order. I propose now to dissect this eye, or rather to set down the principal forms in which denunciation is carried out.

Formless, secret denunciation.

There is no regular form appointed for secret denunciation, by far the worst species. It has naturally no limits and no regular form.

The Constitutions permit and invite everyone, when and how he will, to report to any Superior everything that concerns any of his fellow members. And in order to assist denunciation, and check any possible conscientious objections to depriving anyone of the good reputation which even an erring member may possess, the Constitutions expressly state that " Those who live in the Jesuit Order renounce their claim to good reputation."

This passage is one of the most brutal and immoral of the whole Institute, and its harmfulness is not diminished by the question set to novices on entrance, whether they are content that all their faults and anything that is observed in them should be reported to the Superior. For the question is set in such a formal manner, and the weight of its content is so little emphasised, that not one of those who is asked it has the faintest conception of its real meaning, and certainly never suspects that in answering " Yes " he renounces his right to good repute for his whole lifetime. Besides, 80 per cent. of those who enter are mere boys, fresh from the gymnasiums, whose youthful minds are not capable of recognising the scope of the questions set them, and whose youthful shyness would prevent them from raising any objection.

At this point I may make a general observation. The reading, obligatory on entering the Order, and again four times during the novitiate period, of the *Examen generale*, which contains the duty of denunciation and other similar commands, is a truly Jesuitical institution. It throws a net over the unsuspicious new-comer. If as a Jesuit afterwards he comes to realise the meaning of the questions, and makes objections to them, the net is drawn close, and he receives the answer: All this was read to you, and you made no objection.

These instructions as to secret denunciation leave the road clear. Under the shelter of secrecy a flood of accusations, denunciations, and calumnies may be let loose from all quarters on any individual. He has no rights or privileges, and everyone's hand may be against him.

Training in denunciation.

The Order deliberately trains its members in denunciation and gives them practice in espionage, and in doing so the main object is to deprive it of its invidious character by giving it official sanction and establishing it as one of the regular institutions of the Order. It says to its members: "What you may do openly you may also do secretly." Open denunciation is to prepare the way for secret. Hence the numerous statutory denunciatory institutions, to some of which I must refer.

First there are the Prefects of the *turmae*, of the rooms and others. It is their duty to report to the Superior everything that comes within their cognizance; in particular the conversations during recreation and walks. From the beginning of his novitiate the Jesuit is carefully trained in this systematic denunciation, and gradually it enters his very being, so that it no longer seems to him strange.

Then there are the Consultors, Admonitors, and the *socius collateralis*. The habit of observing and denouncing others acquired in the novitiate and scholasticate is naturally continued in a Jesuit's after-life. Important offices have been instituted in order to maintain it.

The General and Provincial appoint for every Jesuit settlement, known as a House, Consultors, whose duty it is to observe the proceedings in the House, the conduct of the individuals, subordinates, and Superior, and to report thereon at regular intervals to the Rector, Provincial, and General. Besides the *Consultores domus* there are also *Consultores Provinciae*, whose denunciatory functions extend over a whole province of the Order. The Constitutions assign to each of the chief dignitaries (Superior, Rector, Provincial, General) an Admonitor, whose duty it is to supervise the private and official actions and report thereon to the higher authorities.

" To every Superior a *socius collateralis* may be assigned, to serve as a support. He is not compelled to obey the Superior, but for the sake of others he is to show him outward respect. It is his business to report to the Provincial or General concerning the actions of the Superior to whom he is assigned."*

Reports (*formula scribendi*).

The Constitutions contain a section (*formula scribendi*) which includes the following headings: Concerning the Reports of the Superiors (Local Superior, Rector, Provincial, General) about one another, and the reports of the Consultors and Admonitors to the Provincials and General; concerning the *Litterae annuae;* concerning the secret catalogues and secret informations.

These reports are the highest imaginable development of supervision and denunciation. It is laid down

* Inst. S.J., II., 40 *et seq.*

in the Constitutions that the Superiors of the Houses and the Rectors are to write to the Provincial every week, or as often as he may determine. The Provincials are to write once a week to the Superiors and Rectors of the Houses, and to those whose activity lies outside the Houses. The Provincials are to write to the General once a month; the Superiors of the Houses, Rectors and Novice-Masters are to write every quarter to the General. The General is to write to the Provincials every other month, and to the Rectors and local Superiors twice a year. The Consultors of the Rectors and local Superiors are to send sealed letters twice a year to the Provincial and once to the General; the Consultors of the Provincials are to write to the General twice—in January and July. They are to write candidly all they have to say about the Superiors and their method of governing. One Consultor is not to know what the other Consultor writes. If it is necessary to write about some person not belonging to the Society, the letter must be worded in such a way that he may not be offended, even if the letter were to fall into his hands.

In secret matters a cipher should be used which is only known to the Superior; the General is to give instructions as to the method of doing this.*

If a subordinate wishes to send any secret information to the Provincial or General he must put the word *soli* on the address.† An interesting example of a secret report and the use made of numbers is supplied by an undated document among the Jesuit papers of the Munich archives, which contains statements to the detriment of a Jesuit designated as I^{b}.‡

The number of reports which the General receives in

* *Formula scribendi*, 18; Inst. S.J., II., 41.
† *Ibid.*
‡ Döllinger-Reusch, *Moralstreitigkeiten*, II., 374.

the course of the year may be gathered from a statement made by Spittler * for the year 1773.

Monthly reports from 37 Provincials, 444; quarterly reports from 612 Heads of Colleges, 2,448; quarterly reports from 340 other local Superiors, 1,360; quarterly reports from 59 Novice-Masters, 236; half-yearly reports from 1,048 Consultors, 2,096—a total of 6,584 official annual reports. Besides these there are hundreds of reports from the over-sea missions, hundreds of letters from individuals to the General, so that we may set down the round number of 7,000 as a total.

The expense of all these reports must have been considerable, especially in former times. Piaget estimates them from an old source to be 30,000 gold thalers a year. Every courier sent to Rome at that time cost the Order 60 to 70 thalers.

A special kind of secret report was the *catalogus secundus*. Whenever the Procurators † of the different Provinces go to Rome, which is usually once in three years, they take with them two catalogues of all the inmates of the Province. The first states the outward circumstances, age, studies, occupation, etc., and is drawn up by the individuals themselves. The second catalogue is drawn up secretly by the Superior from the information which he possesses about each individual, and it gives the inner history of each, indicating them by numbers.‡

Of the existence of this Second Catalogue the Jesuit officially knows nothing. Often it is only after many years that he accidentally hears of it. I, for instance,

* *Über die Geschichte und Verfassung des Jesuitenordens*, Leipzig, 1817, p. 39 *et seq.*

† A Procurator is the ambassador elected by the Rectors and Professed of a province in the Provincial Congregation, to be sent to Rome. Const. VIII., 2, Declar. B.

‡ *Formula scribendi*, 32–35.

only heard of it in 1883, the second year of my philosophy studies. Francis Miller, at that time my Rector, and very well disposed towards me, informed me, most indiscreetly, that he had reported me in the Second Catalogue as having made good progress in virtue, and as a *homo spiritualis*, a man whose mind was turned towards spiritual things. At the same time he explained to me the nature and object of the Second Catalogue, the attainment of accurate knowledge of the individual.

This systematic denunciation has caused terrible devastation in the Order. Its members designate it as a veritable plague. I shall have occasion to return to this subject later.

I must mention two other institutions, which under the semblance of humility are based on mutual supervision and aim at producing inward and outward uniformity.

Guardian angels (*angeli custodes*).

Two novices are appointed to serve mutually as guardian angels. At regular periods they bestow alms on one another, *i.e.* relate the faults, mistakes, and the like, of which they have taken note. The higher authority is cleverly kept in the background; and the reporting and shaping is performed by equals, who are "whetted" against one another. To what extent may be seen by the second method.

Stone-throwing (*lapidatio*).

Now and then, indeed frequently, the Novice-Master, after the daily instruction, asks who will volunteer for stoning, or sometimes he himself, without waiting for volunteers, appoints the victim. He kneels down before all the other novices, and the stone-throwing begins. Each of his fellow novices points out the faults which he has observed in him. At the end the Novice-Master also

casts his stones, which, owing to the intimate knowledge he possesses of all the pupils, never fail to hit their mark.

The stone-throwing involves a very painful quarter of an hour. The eyes of forty or more perceive a great deal, and what they have observed is expressed freely. The object of this custom is the destruction of the last remains of individuality, even in outward appearance: the gait, position of the head, movements of the hand and arm, manner of drinking, speaking, pronouncing, laughing—everything is subjected to criticism.

The chief disciplinary effect of the guardian angels and the stone-throwing is to file and polish the inner and outer man, and this is assisted by the following rules:

Rules of Modesty.

These rules, together with an Instruction, already quoted,* on conduct at recreation, complete the final stage of filing and polishing.

The head must not be lightly moved this way or that, but in a dignified manner when it is necessary, and when it is not necessary it should be held still with a slight forward inclination, but not to either side. The eyes should usually be cast down; they should not be raised too high, or wander hither and thither. In conversation, especially with persons of superior dignity, the gaze is not to rest on their eyes, but a little below. Wrinkling the forehead, and especially the nose, must be avoided, in order to convey an expression of cheerfulness, which is the indication of inward content. The lips must not be pressed too tightly together nor kept too far apart. The general expression should suggest cheerfulness rather than gloom or any other less well regulated state of mind. The clothes must be clean, and arranged with scrupulous care. The hands, when not occupied with holding up

* Chapter X.

the long robe, must be kept still. The pace should be moderate, without any marks of haste, unless there is any urgency, and even then, so far as possible, dignity should be observed. All movements and gestures should be of a character to cause edification to all. When several members are together they should march in twos or threes, keeping the order prescribed by their Superior. When they have to speak, their words and the manner of their speaking should suggest modesty and edification.*

Members during their recreations should not appear peculiar, unamiable, or hermit-like. They should avoid frivolous movements, be modest, not too talkative nor wrathful, not quarrelsome nor ironical. They must not be too hurried in their movements, and should avoid importunity and bitterness; they must not raise their voices in talking or laugh out loud.†

Human beings who fashion their outward appearance according to such rules become embodied artificiality. The modesty here required is really an odious distortion of the human exterior. So violent and unnatural is this attack on nature that it instinctively takes the defensive, and the dissension between rule and nature produces disgusting hypocrisy, particularly noticeable in the instruction about the eyes. The cast-down Jesuit eyes see everything. The "corners of the novice's eyes," referring to the manner of casting them down taught in the novitiate, are a regular institution, as this is a regular expression in the Order. The Jesuit has learnt to see better with cast-down eyes than non-Jesuits who keep theirs wide open.

Other regulations as to supervision and uniformity.

Of these I give a few instances.

* Inst. S.J., II., 12.

† *Instructio* 13, *c.* 9 *pro renov. spiritus; Ibid.*, II., 306.

When receiving visits from men, no matter of what class or rank or position, the lay brothers who accompany the visiting priest must be careful never to leave him [the priest] a moment alone, both for the sake of religious propriety and also general edification. They must also know that they are bound, on returning home, to inform the Superior, even without being asked, whether there has been any breach of this rule.* Generally no one may enter the room of another without leave from the Superior; and if anyone has leave to enter, the door should remain open as long as he is there, so that the Superior and those appointed for the purpose may enter if it seem good to them.†

A man who enters the Society as a priest may not say mass in public until he has done so in private before some of the inmates of the House, and he should be admonished that in the manner of saying mass he should aim at uniformity with the other members of the Society.‡

Besides these institutions and rules there is an even stronger influence in moulding the Jesuit in the required fashion, because, especially during the novitiate, it dominates him completely from the moment of waking till he goes to rest, and from going to rest till the hour of awakening. I refer to

The daily routine and external life in the novitiate.

With violent and concentrated energy the novitiate seizes on the new-comer and saturates him completely with the Jesuit spirit. He is to be dyed in it through and through. It would be strange if the energy were not specially concentrated on one of the chief points of Jesuit

* Rule 5 for the Lay Brothers.
† Const. III., 1; Declar. D, Regul. Comm., 33.
‡ Exam. gen., V., 7.

discipline, the crushing out of independence. And indeed in this respect the novitiate education compels admiration, of a kind, however, which we must pay to clever criminality. For the destruction of individuality is surely a crime.

The life and daily routine of the novitiate resemble a mill, between the stones of which, with their unceasing motion, everything in a man that is individual, all his corners and edges, all his independent will and thoughts, his capacity for initiative and action, are crushed to atoms. This end is attained by breaking up the day and its occupations into minutest portions, and subordinating the will to that of others in the minutest details.

Such an educational system is the more effective the less it is expressed in strong measures. It is the drop of water that hollows out the stone, slowly but surely; softly and silently it smooths and polishes, instead of injuring by fitful blows. Almost imperceptibly and naturally compulsion takes hold of the entrant in the Order; it takes possession of him completely, body and soul, day after day, year after year, accompanies him in all his actions, and never leaves him till the transformation is accomplished and his independence annihilated. Not only from hour to hour, but from one quarter to another, even for shorter periods of time, his actions are prescribed for the novice. This constantly repeated and quick succession of interruptions affords an effective instrument for destroying independence.

The will and the inclination to any particular occupation are weakened. Everyone knows beforehand that what he is doing at the moment will not continue long, at most till such and such a time; it is possible, nay probable, that the signal for interruption may come even sooner, and he will be utilised for some other purpose. Thus he learns gradually to pass from one occupation to another, with-

out feeling annoyance, to be called away and sent back, five minutes here, ten minutes there; half an hour in the kitchen, an hour in the granary—to-day wielding a broom, to-morrow a log.

Thus a mechanical routine, an easy mobility, an unresisting skill are attained; but just to the same extent is individual independence forfeited. The will of the individual is broken, and exact obedience attained; but in so doing a blow is given to the whole will, it is smoothed till it becomes an easily revolving ball, which fits noiselessly into the ranks of the others that move by its side.

We all know that individuality impresses itself on our surroundings, the room in which we live, the objects which we use, and itself is strengthened and aroused by their special characteristics. Therefore this ally of individuality is also combated.

Not only is the occupation of the Jesuit novice determined for every quarter of an hour, but the place and manner of his actions are prescribed in every detail. During the two years of the novitiate he must frequently change the room in which he spends his time, and even the spot on which his little writing-desk or simple bed stand is not permanent, for if it were it would be an aid to individuality. Every peculiarity, the special characteristics which mark even the exterior of the person, must be removed. The gait, the position of the hands, the inclination of the head, the attitude and movement of the body are regulated minutely.

Literally nothing is left to the free determination of the novice. If he wants a drink of water, he must ask for leave; if he wants a piece of paper, a book, a pencil, he must ask for it too.

All these are rules to which everyone must submit. But in addition there are a number of counsels and direc-

tions which, in view of the readiness with which they are observed, are no less effectual. There are counsels about eating and drinking, speaking, walking, and sitting, counsels about undressing, the position of the body in sleep, in dressing—in short, the whole being, in all his movements and outward bearing, day and night, is seized upon and modelled into shape.*

Confession.

From the Catholic and religious point of view confession is the account of sins penitently related to the priest in order to obtain absolution.†

Even the ultramontane Roman Church, which early in the thirteenth century began to misuse confession for hierarchic purposes, and for this reason instituted a certain amount of compulsion, did not extend it to the choice of a confessor. In this matter there is absolute freedom; a Catholic can make his obligatory annual confession to any priest. It is not necessary to prove that this must be so, that any compulsion as to place, time, number of confessions, and especially the particular confessor, would destroy the very essence of confession from the natural and religious point of view.

But what do Jesuits care about nature and religion when it is a question of attaining their own ends?

Jesuit discipline, therefore, also takes possession of confession. The Jesuit loses all freedom of confession, and that which, rightly regarded, may be a comfort to a sin-laden or doubting conscience, the confidential revelation of the soul in accordance with the forms of religion, becomes in the ascetic system of the Jesuit Order an act of compulsion which even in the Sacrament of Confession delivers the subordinate over completely to the watchful eyes of

* Hoensbroech, *Mein Austritt aus dem Jesuitenorden*, p. 13 *et seq.*

† Hoensbroech, *Das Papsttum, etc.*, II., 512–574.

the Superior. That which, according to Catholic doctrine, was the great means instituted by Christ for the reconciliation of the human soul and God, is stripped of its character by the Jesuit Constitutions and transformed into a disciplinary rule.

"All are to go at least every eighth day to the Sacraments of Confession and Communion, unless for any reason the Superior should determine otherwise. A confessor appointed by the Superior shall hear the confessions of all; if this is not possible, each must have his regular confessor, to whom he may reveal his conscience fully. . . . The manner of confessing and the regular time for it are to be fixed. . . . If anyone should confess to any other than his appointed confessor, he must afterwards, so far as his memory permits, open his whole conscience to his appointed confessor, so that he, knowing everything that relates to the conscience of the penitent, can help him better in the Lord. . . . All must confess to their appointed confessor, in accordance with the order prescribed by the Superior." *

All are to confess on the appointed day to their appointed confessors, and not to any other without the consent of the Superior.† Non-priests are to confess and communicate once a week; priests at least as often or oftener. On entering the Order everyone must make a general confession of his whole past life.‡

It really seems as though the Order could never have enough directions and regulations to make confession serve the ends of supervision. But it goes even further.

In the first place, those who do not submit to its ordinances are punished by starvation.

"Those who do not go to confession within this period

* Const. III., 1, 11; Declar. Q. VI., 3, 2; Summar. Const., 7.
† Regul. Com., 3.
‡ Exam. gen., IV., 25, 41.

[the time laid down by the Superior] are to be deprived of their bodily sustenance until they partake of spiritual food. . . . If anyone within the appointed period does not go to Confession or Communion, he [the minister] is to inquire of the Superior whether he is to be deprived of his bodily nourishment, until he has partaken of spiritual nourishment."*

Certain sins are declared to be "reservation cases" from which only the Superior can absolve; and of these special cases the ninth on the list is, characteristically enough, the case when a Jesuit should have confessed to an "external priest" a non-Jesuit.†

As, according to the general teaching of ultramontane moral theology, only grievous sins, so-called deadly sins, are reserved for absolution by the Superior, we meet here with the theological absurdity that the Order accounts as a deadly sin a confession made by a Jesuit to a priest who has all the other requirements of the Church for hearing confessions, but is not a Jesuit, only in order to prevent its members from breaking through the narrow limits of its directions for confessions.

Other no less characteristic ordinances concerning reservation cases are these:

The confessor must be acquainted with the cases which the Superior reserves for himself. He is to reserve such cases as it is necessary or useful for him to be acquainted with, in order the better to apply the remedy and preserve those given into his charge from all injury.

The Superior may refuse the right to give absolution in a reserved case to a confessor who asks for it. The refusal may only be given after careful consideration; but it must be given if there is any fear of offence and

* Const. III., 1; Declar. Q, Rule 10 for the Minister. The Minister has to provide for the domestic arrangements under the direction of the Rector.

† Congreg. 2; Decret. 60.

injury to the reputation of the College or any other persons. In such cases the sinner should himself make confession to the Superior.*

If anyone when travelling has confessed a reservation case to another Jesuit and been fully absolved by him, he must still, when he returns to his own House, confess the matter once more to the Superior of the House, and this must be made a condition of absolution.†

It is scarcely possible to express the compulsion involved in this last ordinance; a confession must be repeated, and to the Superior of him who has already made a full confession, solely in order that the Superior, or rather the Order, may have a complete knowledge of the inner life of all his subordinates. A journey and its occurrences involving a short absence might render the Superior's knowledge of his subordinate incomplete, hence the arbitrary rule, to be justified neither from the religious and Christian nor the dogmatic and theological standpoint, which says: The account which you have settled with God in confession is not yet settled with the Jesuit Order, therefore confess once more.

The consequences that may result from the Jesuit reservation ordinances are shown in a memorial handed to the Pope and the Seventh General Congregation of the Order (1615) by the Jesuit Hernando de Mendoza, who took part in the Congregation.‡

"Because the Superiors reserve to themselves certain sins, some persons remain for years in a state of deadly sin and commit thousands of sacrileges, without daring to confess to the Superior or their usual confessor, because

* Const. III., 1, 11; *Ordinationes Generalium*, c. 6, 2.

† *Ord. Gen.*, c. 6, 6.

‡ When Mendoza failed to pass his reform measures he left the Order. In consequence he is represented by all Jesuit writers as a bad man. All the same his badness did not prevent the Spanish Jesuits from sending him as their delegate to the Seventh General Congregation.

the Superior does not give his consent to absolution, or when he gives it makes many difficulties, and asks so many questions that the seal of confession runs great risk of being broken. The practice of letting the Superiors rule their subordinates by means of confession [must be abolished] . . . also the obligation to make a general confession every six months; for if a sin has once been fully confessed there is no obligation to confess it again. . . . The seal of confession must be respected."*

The memorial met with no success. Its cry for help was uttered in vain. Undisturbed the Jesuit Order continued to march on over sacrilege, deadly sin, and torments of conscience. The honour of God and the salvation of the individual are of no account when its own weal and woe are in question, and they would be at stake if confession were no longer the mighty instrument of vigilance and espionage into which it has been transformed. This is an adaptation of the famous Jesuit motto, *Omnia ad majorem Dei gloriam.* But this God is not the God of Christianity, but the Jesuit Order itself, the Moloch of its own power and its own pride.

Worthy of note, too, are the final words of the passage quoted from Mendoza's memorial as to the illegally imposed duty of frequent general confessions and the failure to respect the seal of secrecy. In any case it would be impossible that a confession thus made to converge towards the Superior and his function as ruler should be respected. Further, the Statement of Conscience which runs parallel with confession renders the secrecy of confession quite illusory, since here the subordinate, unprotected by the seal of confession, is compelled to inform his Superior of everything which he has to declare in confession. The Superior is acquainted with the whole contents of his confession through the Statement

* *Avis de ce qu'il y a à reformer en la Compagnie de Jésus*, 1615, p. 13 *et seq.*

of Conscience, and is allowed by the Constitutions to utilise this knowledge for the good of the Order.

Besides these indirect though convincing proofs of the non-secrecy of the confessional, the Constitutions also contain positive directions on the subject.

In the very first part * we read:

"It is profitable that besides the Examiner others, too, should have intercourse with the postulant for admission . . . for this end it is well that he should frequently confess in our church, before his admission . . . in order that we may obtain the knowledge concerning him which is requisite to the honour of our Lord and God."

Confession then is to be used as a means of obtaining knowledge concerning a candidate for admission. But of what use would the knowledge be if the confessor could not make use of it by passing it on to the Superior? Of course everything is done to the honour of our Lord and God. The more shameful and immoral are the ordinances of the Jesuit Order, the more do they flaunt the spacious folds of their cloak of piety.

As for the respect shown to the secrecy of confession there is something very suspicious about an ordinance which General Acquaviva felt bound to issue in August, 1590, to the effect that in the annual reports what relates to confessions should be omitted,† while the Provincial Congregation of the Upper German Province was obliged in the year 1660 to reiterate the warning:

"Facts which are only known through the confessional are not to be quoted in the annual reports."‡

It appears then that even in the annual reports, which were intended for public reading, the seal of secrecy was

* Const. I., c. 4, Declar. D.

† J. Friedrich, *Beiträge*, p. 50. From the Munich State Archives.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

broken. What may we not assume then in regard to the secret reports ?

Is it indeed likely that the Order would renounce its chief source of investigation, confession, in the case of its own members, whom it wishes to examine by every possible means, though ruthlessly and systematically using it in the case of externals ?

One historic instance of this use of confession may be quoted here, though I must give others later. The French ambassador at Venice, M. de Canaye, wrote on June 6th, 1606, to King Henry IV. of France :

" Jesuit documents discovered at Bergamo and Padua prove that the Jesuits made use of confessions in order to gain information as to the capacity, disposition and mode of life of the penitents, the chief affairs of the towns in which they live, and that they have such an exact acquaintance with all these details that they know the strength, means, and circumstances of every state and every family."*

Several of the Popes also tried to do away with the serious abuses caused by the Jesuit utilisation of confessions. Thus Innocent X. urged them to abolish the practice of appointing as Superiors of a Settlement (House, Residence, or College) Jesuits who had for many years acted as confessors in the same Settlement. For it was almost impossible for the Superior who had been a Confessor not to utilise in the direction of his subordinates, who had formerly been his penitents, the knowledge acquired in the confessional, thus violating the seal of confession. But the Pope did not attain his end. The Eighth General Congregation (1646) coolly set aside the Papal request with the comment :

" As it might be advantageous to appoint confessors as Superiors, no change need be made in this respect ;

* J. Friedrich, *Beiträge*, p. 49.

honourable men would not make a wrongful use of the secrets learnt in confession."*

CONSCIENCE-SEARCHING

Closely connected with confession are two kinds of "conscience-searching" customary among Jesuits. The ordinary kind, which takes place twice a day, at mid-day and in the evening, does not call for any special remark, as it in no way differs from the conscience-searching before confession, which prevails throughout the Ultramontane Catholic Church. But the second kind is quite peculiar to the Jesuits. It is called the "Particular Examination."

Were it possible carefully to watch a Jesuit during the ordinary conscience-searching, he would be seen to draw out a little pocket-book and make notes in it. That is the "particular examination book." And were it possible to observe him the rest of the day he would be seen now and then to put his hand under his robe and pull something in the direction of his left shoulder. This means that he is pulling the "particular examination chain."

The Particular Examination is the searching for a single fault or endeavour to attain a special virtue, both faults and virtues being interpreted in the widest sense, since often little faults, peculiarities in manner, speaking,

* J. Friedrich, *Beiträge*, pp. 67, 69. The official collection of the decrees of the Congregations contain no reference to these interesting proceedings (Prague, 1757; Rome, 1869–70). We shall see later how little reliance is to be placed on the Jesuit publications referring to the Order, no matter how official they may be. Of this I have already cited proofs (Chaps. IV. and V.). The matter is remarkable, too, as showing that Papal wishes are far from being commands to the Jesuit Order. Even distinct commands not infrequently meet with determined resistance from the Order, if it regards its own interests as endangered by them. This instructive point, which throws a curious light on the "unconditional obedience of the Jesuits to the Pope," will be discussed farther on.

walking, eating and the like, and the attainment of a courteous and polite bearing are made the objects of this examination. As a rule it is the Superiors, Novice-Master, or Confessor who determines which faults are to be combated, which virtues acquired by means of this Particular Examination. In any case they must be consulted about it, so that here, too, there is no scope for individual freedom. The formal and mechanical element, nowhere absent from the ascetic discipline of the Jesuits, and particularly marked in the Exercises, is manifested in very crude fashion in the use of the notebook and chain of the Particular Examination. Every victory over the fault, every achievement of the virtue, is recorded by means of pulling the chain, which consists of movable wooden beads representing units and tens, and at noon and in the evening the number of victories and virtuous actions is recorded in the note-book. These are added up every week and month, and the total compared with that for the previous month or week. In this way an account is kept and a balance struck, and now and then the Superior demands a statement of accounts.

The Order lays great stress on the Particular Examination, and the Exercises devote a special section to it. And doubtless it may prove very efficacious. Its injurious effect on the inner being and the ethical faculty is of no account to the egotism of the Order. It attains what it desires, the smooth polish of the individual, the planing away of all individuality.

THE EXERCISES

The theory and practice of Jesuit piety and ascetic discipline are combined in a powerful whole by the Exercises, which form the apex of the tower of Jesuit perfection.

Whether the Spiritual Exercises are to be regarded as an original work of Ignatius Loyola is a question scarcely worth raising, since it is undeniable that the founder of the Order, and through him the Order itself, gave them their particular impress and as it were monopolised them. But for the sake of historical accuracy, and in view of the extravagant assertions of the Jesuits concerning the origin of the Exercises, a few words may be added on this subject.

Two quotations will show the haughty spirit characteristic of the Jesuits :—

"Ignatius certainly wrote them, but they were dictated to him by the Virgin. . . . It was not for nothing that during the whole period of their composition she frequently appeared to him, and her light illumined his spirit even more than his eyes. And in order to remove all doubt the Mother of God herself revealed to one whose holiness deserves all credence* that the meditations were well pleasing to her, for she herself in her lifetime had often meditated on these matters, she had afterwards taught them to Ignatius and assisted him in writing them down.†

"The Venerable Father Louis de Ponte writes in the Life of the Venerable Father Balthasar Alvarez, that according to the faithful tradition derived from Father Jacob Laynez, the second General of the Society, it was generally considered that God had revealed the Exercises to St. Ignatius by special inspiration, and in consequence of a supernatural illumination of a soul sanctified to God. Ignatius, by the influence and through the advocacy of the Blessed Virgin Mary, had attained the knowledge which enabled him to set them down in writing in their present form." ‡

To these boastful and superstitious absurdities we may oppose the fact that Ignatius found in the Benedictine convent at Montserrat an ascetic book by the

* The Jesuit Alvarez.

† *Imago primi saeculi Societ. Jesu*, Antwerp, 1640, p. 73.

‡ Stöger, S.J., *Die asketische Literatur über die geistlichen Übungen.* Paris—Ratisbon, 1850, p. 43.

Benedictine monk Garcia de Cisneros, published about 1500, which, during his residence at Manresa, suggested to him the composition of his Exercises. For this we have the definite testimony of the Benedictine Chanones of Montserrat, who at that time was the confessor of Ignatius.*

The duration of the Exercises is fixed for a month, and on this account they are divided into first, second, third and fourth weeks. This division is retained even when the Exercises are compressed into eight or only three days.

The full course of four weeks is only for Jesuits themselves, and even they, as a rule, only go through them twice during their life in the Order—in the first year of the novitiate and after the completion of their course of studies in the tertiate. As a rule every Jesuit "makes" a week's Exercises every year. Down to the end of the scholasticate the Exercises are "given" usually by the Superior or the spiritual father; after the scholasticate the Jesuit directs his own Exercises.

Secular priests, too, as a rule only make a week's Exercises, and those for the laity only last three days.

In order to give, at any rate, a general impression of the Exercises I shall add a short table of contents.† But obviously it is not possible in this way to give any real impression of the peculiar riches they contain. The text of the Exercises fills forty-three quarto volumes of the Roman edition of the "Institute of the Society of Jesus," and they deal with various aspects of theology, psychology, philosophy, and asceticism.

The Introduction consists of twenty "annotations," which assist the comprehension of the Exercises, and are

* Cf. Yepez, *Chronicon generale Ordinis Sti Benedicti*, 1621, 4, 326 *et seq.*

† The Latin text of the Exercises has been included in the editions of the "Institute," *e.g.* the Roman edition of 1870, II. 375–418. There are also a number of separate editions in different languages.

intended to help the directors as well as the congregation.

Then follows the title: "Some spiritual Exercises, by which a man may be so directed that he learn to overcome himself and direct his life free from the influence of harmful inclinations."

After preliminary remarks, which show great psychological insight, as to the mutual understanding and avoidance of misunderstanding between the Exercise-Master and the exercitant and, as a corollary, between men in general, the "Principle or Fundament" is laid down, *i.e.* it is stated in a few effective words, "that man was created in order to praise his Lord and God, and to attain blessedness by serving Him, and that all other things were created for the sake of man, to help him in the attainment of his goal."

Next come exact and detailed directions for the Particular and General Examination, and then begins the first week, with five Exercises, the name given to the meditations for this week in contradistinction to those of the other weeks.

The first Exercise deals under three headings with the "threefold sin," the sin of the angels, through which they were turned into devils; the sin of the first man and woman, through which all evil came into the world; and the deadly sin of any human being, through which he was condemned to hell. The second Exercise has five sections on "our own sins." Third Exercise, repetition of the first and second Exercises. Fourth Exercise, repetition of the Third. Fifth Exercise, with five sections on hell.

1. To see in imagination the great fires of the lower regions and the souls imprisoned in fiery bodies.

2. To hear in imagination the lamentation, howling, crying, and blasphemies against Christ and His saints that issue thence.

3. To smell in imagination the smoke and horrible stench of brimstone and sulphur.

4. To taste the bitterness of hell, the tears, remorse, and the worm that gnaws the conscience.

5. To touch those fires by which those souls are being consumed.

The five Exercises of the first week, as well as those that follow, are introduced by a preparatory prayer and two preludes. In the prayer of preparation the exercitant is to ask for the grace that all his powers and actions may be directed to the honour and service of God. The first prelude is intended as a preparation of the place (*compositio loci*), *i.e.* in contemplating objects with a visible and tangible basis such as scenes from the life of Christ, the imagination must be called into play to represent the places where the event occurred. But if the subject of contemplation is incorporeal, as, for instance, sin, the preparation of the place consists in imagining our souls imprisoned in our bodies as in a dungeon, and our whole being exiled in this vale of woe in the midst of raging beasts. The second prelude contains a prayer for the fruits peculiar to that particular contemplation. Thus, in contemplating the resurrection of Christ we should ask for the emotion of joy; in the case of His sorrow and suffering, for tears and anguish.

Each Exercise, as well as each of the contemplations that follow, concludes with a colloquy, in which Christ is to be imagined as present, hanging on the cross, and addressed, now as a friend by a friend, now as a master by a servant.

The first week concludes with directions for the distribution of the contemplations among the various portions of the night and day, and additions, "which are very useful for the better performance of the spiritual Exercises and the better finding of that which is desired." The first

contemplation is to take place at midnight; the second early in the day, immediately on rising; the third before or after mass, fasting; the fourth in the afternoon; the fifth before supper.

The additions include the following recommendations: In bed, before falling asleep, a short time should be given to pondering on the next subject of contemplation, as also immediately on waking. For contemplating a man may choose the attitude which will best assist him to attain the desired end, *e.g.* stretched out on the ground with face upturned or downcast, or standing, sitting, or kneeling; when meditating on sin, all cheerful thoughts must be excluded, because they check tears and sorrow, and for the same reason he should deprive himself of all the brightness of light, keeping doors and windows closed, except when reading or eating. . . . He should not look at anyone except when compelled to greet him, he should mortify himself in eating and sleeping, and inflict penance on himself by penitentiary girdles, iron chains, scourgings, and the like. In doing this, however, he should see to it that the pain is confined to the flesh and does not extend to the bones; therefore scourges of small cords should be used, that the blows may only reach the outward, not the inward parts. Those who do not experience the desired emotions, *e.g.* grief and consolation, are to change their practice in matters of sleeping, eating, penance, etc.

The second week opens with the Contemplation of the kingdom of Christ, as though He were an earthly king, calling forth his soldiers to war. This Contemplation has two parts. In the first we are called upon to "imagine an earthly king chosen by God, to whom all other Christian kings and peoples are to show honour and obedience." This king announces to his subjects that he means to subdue every land of the infidels; all are to follow him

and be his comrades, share in his labours and difficulties, as well as in his victory. What answer shall his subjects give? How base were that soldier who should refuse to follow! In the second part the parable is applied to Christ. This Contemplation, which on account of its importance is to be repeated, concludes with an address to Christ, in which the contemplant offers himself to Christ as His closest follower (*quam possim proxime te sequar*), if it be God's will to choose him out for such a life. First Meditation, Of the Incarnation of Christ. It is decreed by the Three Persons of the Trinity in heaven, and carried out in the little house (*domuncula*) of the Virgin Mary. Second Meditation, Of the birth of Christ. Third Meditation, repetition of the two former ones. Fourth Meditation, another repetition. Fifth Meditation, Application of the senses to the previous meditations. The persons should be seen with the eyes; and their conversation should be heard with the ears; the sweetness of their virtues is to be perceived by smell; with the sense of touch he is "to touch and kiss the clothes, places, footprints, and all else that is connected with the holy persons." After various meditations on the life of Christ there follows on the fourth day of this week, as a sort of culmination, the Meditation of the Two Flags; one the flag of Christ, our best Emperor, the other the flag of Lucifer, the chief foe of man. This meditation, too, is divided into two parts. First, the contemplant is to imagine the devil at Babylon, sitting on a throne of smoke and fire, terrible in face and form, summoning the innumerable lower devils and sending them forth into the world. Addressing them, he bids them spare no town, village, or person, but to seduce all to the love of wealth and honour, and so tempt them to pride. In contrast to this picture he is to imagine Christ standing in a lovely field near Jerusalem, fair of form and beautiful to behold, addressing

the faithful and sending them forth to lead men to poverty and humility. This meditation, which must be repeated four times, concludes with three addresses: to Mary, Christ, and God the Father. Then follows the Meditation on the Three Classes of Men. Three men have each 10,000 ducats; they desire to attain salvation, and therefore to rid themselves of unlicensed affection for money. The first wishes it, but does not act. The second also wishes, but would like to bring God over to his own wish. The third remains quite indifferent; he will give up the money or not, just as God will. After a series of contemplations on the life of Christ, the second week closes with detailed directions as to the choice of vocation. In this is inserted an instruction on the "Three Degrees of Humility."

The third week is entirely devoted to contemplations on Christ's passion. To these are appended some "Rules for Moderation in Diet."

The fourth week is devoted to the Resurrection of Christ and His appearances on earth. One of the contemplations deals with the awakening of spiritual love. To this is appended "The Three Methods of Prayer."

This concludes the regular Exercises. They are followed by fifty-one "Mysteries of the Life of our Lord Jesus Christ," which may be utilised as subjects for contemplation.

The whole is concluded by four kinds of rules: 1. For distinguishing the spiritual emotions aroused by the different classes of spirits. 2. For the distribution of alms. 3. For distinguishing the scruples which a demon puts into our minds. 4. For setting our feelings in harmony with the orthodox Church.

The Spiritual Exercises might be called the heart of the Order, since it is the centre whence the Jesuit blood circulates through the whole body. All the Generals from Ignatius downwards are profuse in recommendation

of the Exercises, though it was only little by little and a good deal later that it became compulsory for all members to go through them every year.

Here I may append some words of criticism. The structure of the Exercises is logical, with some psychological subtlety, and in spite of the simple diction they have some æsthetic beauty.

Regarded from the standpoint of theological dogma, they might be designated as the most rigid compendium of the ultramontane Catholic doctrine of God, Christ, and the world. Here, as in the dogmatic system of the Church, there is no place for a world-riddle. Their psychological impetus is due to their absolute completeness, emphasised by the simplicity of outline and the occasional dramatic representation. Those who enter on them with faith are irresistibly seized by their complex impetus, and thus carried in the direction to which the Exercises apparently lead them, unconditional surrender to the Romish Church. I say "apparently" advisedly.

Nor can it be denied that the Exercises inspire a conception of life which raises men above commonplace existence, and surrounds them with an ascetic coat of mail which protects them effectually against attacks from their lower nature. They lead to piety and, by way of purification, knowledge and love, to a higher stage of devotion to God, a devotion which necessarily bears a thoroughly ultramontane Catholic character.

And yet my judgment on the Exercises can only be an adverse one. Not because the premises on which they are based, the Catholic dogma and its doctrines of God, Christ, and the world, are erroneous, and therefore also the pious and ascetic deductions which spring from them, but because the Exercises, in emphasising ultramontane doctrine, force men under the Jesuit yoke most

skilfully and successfully. All who make Exercises, and these include not merely Jesuits, but also thousands of priests, laity, men, women, youths, and maidens outside the ranks of the Society, become, without willing or even knowing it, sworn adherents of the Order; their religious, ethical, and ascetic consciousness receives a Jesuitical impress. And this is the object of the Exercises. That is why I designated the absolute devotion to the Romish Church as the "apparent" result. Behind this stands the final result, subjection of the exercitant to the Jesuit spirit, his adaptation into a Jesuit tool.

I do not, however, believe that this was the conscious aim of Loyola. But, because the Jesuit spirit in its extremist form saturates the Exercises, the attainment of this object is a natural result, and indeed the Order has for a long time consciously used the Exercises for this end. Nowhere else in the wide domain of the system is the Jesuit spirit, so disastrous in its effects on the inner being of man, more strongly marked; nowhere else is its power of destroying personality more effective; nowhere else is its pseudo-mysticism so rife as in the Exercises.

Its main characteristics are two:

1. The supreme dominion of the formal and mechanical element. To anyone with any real comprehension of piety and true asceticism, the mere notion of compiling a detailed system of ascetic piety, with its dictates of "Thus and no otherwise," must appear monstrous. But this monstrous notion has been actualised by the Jesuits, for every individual that comes to them is forced into their system of Exercises. During the time devoted to them, whether four weeks, one week, or only three days, with the object of seeking God in quietude, every individual emotion is forbidden; every detail of the pious practices from first to last is prescribed, there is not the smallest scope for liberty; the deepest emotions of the soul, prayers

and discourses with God, all must follow fixed rules, which settle not only the manner but also the place and time. All the outer and inner faculties of man, his five senses, understanding, will, feeling, imagination, the animal functions, sleeping, eating, everything indeed that relates to body or soul, is subjected to the system established by the Jesuits, and this is done in so impressive a manner, with such minute directions for the employment of every hour and minute, that the subjection of the whole personality is inevitable. Christian liberty is transformed into slavish and complete dependence.

This extreme compulsion exercised over mind and heart is better realised when we remember that they represent the pious and ascetic aspirations of one individual, Ignatius Loyola. He, if we assume that he was the author, created them to satisfy his own particular needs. Then comes the Jesuit Order, and forces upon all, without exception, the Exercises fashioned to suit the bodily and spiritual needs of a Spaniard who died more than three hundred and fifty years ago. The Exercises may have been the expression of Ignatius's individual piety. It is surely unnecessary to prove that they have no such individual application for others. Yet all alike are pressed into the Ignatian pattern, and moulded and shaped until the adaptation of the individual to the dress, not the dress to the individual, is complete. The Exercises may be likened to a machine built nearly four hundred years ago, but still in use to-day; it turns out the persons of all times, countries and classes put into it to one pattern, absolutely uniform in every detail of their being. This mechanical uniformity and the passive attitude of the exercitant find characteristic expression in what might appear a very insignificant detail.

An exercise naturally suggests activity on the part of the agent, but the Spiritual Exercises exclude all personal

participation as much as possible, and lay the chief stress on the orders and instructions of the Director of Exercises. Accordingly Exercises are not made, but given (*traduntur*); the exercitant receives them. He is exercised and drilled by the command of the Director of Exercises and the handbook of Exercises. (*Libellus exercitiorum* is the official designation of the written collection.)

But, and here we come upon one of the most remarkable psychological subtleties, this suppression of independence is carried out in such a fashion that the exercitant is not aware of it, but imagines that his understanding and will are at work, though the Exercises have long ago supplanted his own thought and volition.*

2. Another fault is the prevalence of pseudo-mysticism and of the sensual element. Both are evident in every page of the Exercises, not only incidentally or as a spontaneous development from a particular exercise, but in subtly calculated and systematic fashion.

Piety is practised with the aid of the five senses, and their emotions (tears, sweet and painful sensations, kisses, handling) are as a rule the object aimed at. The preparation of the place for each of the meditations is absolutely fatal to genuine prayer, but it skilfully imitates union with God on a sensual basis, and enwraps a man's being in a pleasant supersensual atmosphere, whose close vapours are only too well suited to produce apparitions and ecstasies, in reality hysterical conditions and auto-suggestion. In the conduct of the Exercises it is really the nerves and, in spite of the emphasis apparently laid on them, not the reason and will, which form the link with God. Consider the effect on a sensitive nature, for instance,

* On this account it seems to me that Holl, in his book *Die geistlichen Übungen des Ignatius von Loyola* (Tübingen, 1905, p. 35), which contains much that is excellent, is mistaken in designating the Exercises as "the highest achievement that can be demanded of a wise system of education." Suppression of the pupil's own activity, while retaining it in appearance, is in my opinion the highest achievement of a false education.

of the Contemplation on hell, which calls into activity eyes, ears and the senses of taste and touch, or the directions as to darkening the room.

Doubtless it is effective from the point of view of the senses to call up Christ and Lucifer by the power of constructive imagination, as is done in the Fundamental Contemplations concerning the Kingdom of Christ and the Two Flags. But is there any true connection between contemplations based on such plastic realism and the true Christ and His spirit? Do they lead us a single step onward into the domain of true spiritual piety? Can they indeed be called religious at all in the sense of the spirit and the truth?

Then consider the part played by the devil in the Exercises. Of course he is introduced as a person, for the personality of the devil is part of Romish dogma. But, according to the same dogma, he is also a spirit, and the impression made on the contemplant to whom he is presented as a corporeal being, endowed with every kind of terror, can only be of a coarsely sensual and pseudo-mystic character. This completely equipped hellish personality meets us in the Exercises at every turn. All the lower emotions in man are represented as inspired by him; and he accompanies the individual everywhere. The Exercises must produce the impression that the world is literally full of devils, who run busily to and fro striving to drive men into the horrors of hell. They serve to arouse coarse sensual terror, and the result is that the terrified exercitant clings closely to the Director of Exercises and through him to the Jesuit Order.

Indeed, the Exercises which every Jesuit has to repeat annually for a week enable us to understand why Jesuit devotional literature is for the most part devil-literature, and why the supersensuous in the shape of miracles and apparitions plays so large a part in it.

And this terror called forth through the imagination is a deliberate aim of the Exercises, since the three days' Exercises for the laity consist almost exclusively of the meditations of the first week, which deal with sin, death, the judgment, hell, devil, purgatory, and leave the widest field for conjuring up fantastic terrors. I have already alluded to this in telling of my Feldkirch experiences.

Their relation to the Scriptures furnishes an instructive contrast.

We should naturally expect that the Gospels would be the first book to be placed in the hands of the exercitant, with the admonition to a careful perusal. But no. The Gospels are brought to him almost exclusively through the Exercise Master. His addresses, which set forth the subjects for meditation on the life and teaching of Christ, supply the book which he is to read rather than the Scriptures. Only once are they even mentioned, quite casually in an unimportant note on the second week, and even here the Gospels, as regards their value for edification, are put on the same footing as ordinary devotional literature which abounds in anti-Biblical pseudo-mysticism and hysterical imitation of piety. The note says:

"In the second and following weeks it will be advantageous to read in the Gospels or some pious book, such as 'The Imitation of Christ' or the 'Life of a Saint.'"

Neglect of the Scriptures is, of course, typical of all Ultramontanism, but here we encounter a striking Jesuit peculiarity, a pretence of intimate study of the Scriptures through contemplation of mysteries from the life of Christ, in reality an absorption into the Jesuit spirit, which completely dominates and expounds the contemplation of the Gospels.

In this way, unnoticed by the exercitant and indeed almost imperceptibly, piety and asceticism are removed

from their natural soil in the Gospels and transplanted to a Jesuit foundation.

I add some ordinances from the Constitutions and utterances of Jesuit authorities, which throw a strong light on the Jesuit conception of the Exercises, the method of giving them, and the persons to whom they should be given.

"But rarely and only in the case of specially fitted persons should the whole of the Exercises be given; but as many as possible should take those of the first week."*

The "Directory of Spiritual Exercises," published in 1599 by General Acquaviva by command of the fifth General Congregation, in the first chapter, "How persons may be induced to go through the Exercises," states:

"Our members should resolve by agreeable persuasion (*suaviter*) to induce as many as possible to take the Exercises. . . . But they must be careful to do this discreetly and modestly, and at a fitting time and place without being troublesome or giving offence, and above all, taking care to give no room for suspicion that we are desirous of inducing them to enter the Order. . . . Our Father, the Blessed Ignatius, thought and advised that the best manner of doing so was at confession, not inappropriately and suddenly, but when a good occasion offers, arising either naturally or skilfully introduced."† And the instructions concerning the Director of Exercises state that he should be experienced in spiritual things, prudent, discreet, restrained, moderate, and careful in his speech. And he should also be agreeable to the exercitant, in order that he may more willingly give him his confidence.‡

Concerning women and the Exercises, General Acquaviva wrote on July 1st, 1600, to the Jesuit Rector at Speier:

* Const. VII., 4, Declar. F.

† *Directorium in exercitia spiritualia*, I., 1, 2, 3. ‡ *Ibid.*, 5, 1, 2.

"As we have often written before, it does not seem to us worth while to give the Spiritual Exercises to women. . . . It will suffice if our members try to help them by means of spiritual books."*

Women are intellectually inferior, and the treasures of Jesuit asceticism should not be wasted on them. Such, at least, is the theory. Very different, however, is the practice, for women offer the most fruitful field for Jesuit cultivation. Through women they win influence over men, through women they collect wealth, and this Jesuitical pursuit is specially exercised in giving numerous Exercises to women of all classes. Of this I afterwards had some experiences of my own.

From the Exercises have been developed the Popular Missions, which are really Exercises for the masses. Of these I must treat later.

FRUITS OF JESUIT ASCETICISM

The saying that a bad tree cannot produce good fruits is only true in the physical domain. In the moral sphere even bad trees, persons or systems, may produce some good fruits. Of course they are but secondary products, and can only be recognised when removed from the tree that produced them.

This applies, too, to the tree of Jesuit asceticism; indeed the very worst part of its roots and aims, the constant supervision, has some good effects on the individual, in spite of the general harmfulness of its influence. The knowledge that we are watched by others leads us to watch ourselves; the attempts of others to fashion us inwardly and outwardly according to prescribed rules approved by us, helps us to fashion ourselves.

* From the archives of the German province. Duhr, S.J., *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge*, Freiburg, 1907, p. 467.

This is how Jesuits become past masters in self-control and self-restraint.

Every emotion, even the slightest, every action, no matter how insignificant, is the object of their severest self-scrutiny, and they suppress ruthlessly everything in themselves which does not correspond to the pattern set before them by the Order.

While in the Order I encountered wonderful instances of self-control and restraint; as occasion arises anger is forthcoming, or gentleness, a kindly laugh, or stern earnest, joy or grief. No child passes more naturally from tears to laughter than the well-drilled Jesuit from one emotion to its opposite.

As his own emotions are objects for his contemplation, he looks on his own soul with the eyes of an unprejudiced third person; now he praises, now he blames, now he distinguishes, as though he were an objective, cold-blooded critic of the actions of another. Jesuits must also rise above bodily pain and pleasure, and keep their face unmoved. On one occasion, when I submitted to a very painful tooth operation without moving a muscle, the dentist at München-Gladbach, to whom we Jesuits were sent over from Exaeten when necessary, told me that in his wide experience Jesuits were the only patients who never winced under the most painful treatment.

In similar wise the Jesuit moves no inner muscle, even under the most trying conditions. With a firm hand he cuts and burns away everything in himself which is opposed to Jesuit perfection.

And in this respect I owe much gratitude to the Order. Its system taught me to set myself above things, and to distinguish between subjective feelings and objective facts. If in the terrible experiences which I passed through after my breach with the Order, I never broke down completely, but, in spite of the despair in my heart,

contrived to hold my head erect, this was the result of Jesuit training and the capacity there acquired of keeping in sight, amid the darkness cast by the feelings and passions of my soul, the road of duty and actuality which led beyond them.

But if we set aside the good effects of self-control, which are experienced to some extent by all who give themselves up to Jesuit guidance, whether within the Order or without, the general result of its ascetic discipline, as of its piety, is bad, for it is an unnatural caricature.

I append a few samples of the results of Jesuit asceticism. I have already spoken of St. Aloysius of Gonzaga, whose modesty was manifested in a refusal to look at his own mother, an unnatural trait which has been eulogised in all the lives of this saint as worthy of imitation.

In the Annual Letters of the Austrian Province, S.J., there is an account of the ascetic practices of the Jesuit pupils of the Jesuit College at Homonna in Hungary.

"The wearing of penitentiary girdles, inwoven with torturing hairs of rough iron wire, is of no account even if not common; spurring the body by such goads to higher things is of small account and by no means new; but sleeping on potsherds and on the hard ground is unusual, and, I might almost say, unheard of; lying on prickly boards, on the ground, covered with ice, snow, stones, thorns, nettles—this became a frequent custom with the Congreganists through a new and ingenious pious discovery. . . . In short, there is need of a bridle to hold in the effervescing spirit, and great care in watching lest the bounds of prudence be overstepped."

The report then relates that a Congreganist, in order to subdue the lusts of the flesh, jumped into a tub of ice-cold water and was submerged in it up to his neck. Only with difficulty were they able to pull him out and thus save his life.

"Another removed the soles from his shoes, and walked thus on ice and snow until the forbidden fires of Venus were quenched. Another sought to escape from the same fire, but he had no ice wherewith to extinguish the flame. He wasted away with emaciated body. Continuous fasts, frequent scourgings, iron penitentiary girdles broke down his physical strength, then suddenly he discovers in some remote place a decaying corpse which the worms are consuming. By its side the Marian hero challenges the well-nigh triumphant Venus to battle; he falls on his knees, puts his nose to the corpse, kisses it and receives in his open mouth the worms that crawl out of it, until (let antiquity hear it and veteran soldiers wonder!) his shameful lust shrinks in disgust from this precious wine and departs conquered from the high-hearted hero, beautiful amid the dust and dirt. Others, too, are pursued by Venus. In order to drive away the temptresses they spit at them, strike them with books, and at last seize knives and drive them out of the house. A youth of noble family, whose parents are heretics, is to be married. He is summoned from school, and at home finds the proposed bride. She goes to meet the terrified youth; when he, the strong hero, comes to his senses he gives her a box on the ear when she tries to kiss him, which forces the blood from the shameless girl's nose and mouth. Another, in order to restrain his sister from the commission of a sin, seizes a scourge, rushes in amongst his family and belabours his own innocent shoulders and thus prevents the sin. Another yields to the wishes of his parents and lends his feet for a dance to the sound of the lute. But as he enters the circle of dancers he sees a picture of the Madonna hanging on the wall shed tears; he falls on his knees, and exclaims, weeping, 'Spare me, lady, patroness; I was mad when I forgot thee.'"*

The following is from a report of the Marian Congregation at Cologne to the Jesuit Provincial, Francis Coster, of April, 1578:

"The Congreganists went with uncovered heads through streets and villages, and prayed in public extended on the ground, in order

* From Krone, *Zur Geschichte des Jesuitenordens in Ungarn* (Vienna, 1893), p. 68 *et seq.*

to accustom themselves to the jeers and scorn of men. They swept the public streets, stretched themselves on the ground, and kissed it; then cleaned the shoes and kissed the feet of strangers; then made the beds and carried the wood for the kitchen. We will pass over the record of their cleansing of the private places and pressing kisses on them; we will throw a veil of darkness on their washing of plates and knives; and, lest we be too discursive, must not tell how they lay on the ground with their food beside them and thus partook of the mid-day and evening meals. Often they assume an appearance of poverty and go from door to door singing in a pitiful voice and begging their dinner from the rich. Some were so much repelled at the thought of these begging expeditions that they preferred to crucify their flesh for a whole week with penitentiary girdles rather than ask alms even in the dark. But through the power of obedience their resistance was broken down."

Here we see that these ascetic practices were ordered by the leaders of the Congregations.

"In order to bring their resisting asses' flesh (*carnem suam asinam*) under the yoke of reason, they placed many hard bridles upon it; sometimes they deprived it of nourishment, now they beat its hard hide with rough thongs, now they clad it in rough skins—here I refer to penitentiary girdles—saying: 'Cease, O insolent ass, to revolt against your mistress Reason.'"*

We must remember that these unwholesome practices were perpetrated by young people, in whom the desire for such excesses had been infused by their Jesuit teachers and educators as ascetic practices, and that this false Jesuit asceticism was introduced by the pupils and Congreganists into numerous families.

The story which follows about the lay brother Alonzo Rodriguez, canonised a few years ago, is related by his Jesuit biographers as though they thought it edifying

* Hansen, *Rheinische Akten zur Geschichte des Jesuitenordens* (Bonn, 1896), p. 719 *et seq.*

and worthy of imitation. It illustrates the much lauded virtue of blind obedience.

"Once when Brother Rodriguez was ill, the infirmarian brought him in an earthenware dish some soup specially prepared for him. He noticed that the sick man would not touch it, out of love of mortification and dislike of special fare, and he got the Rector to send word that he must eat the whole dish. Alonzo at once began with his knife to scrape the rough earthenware, endeavouring thus to fulfil the order to the letter."

And the Jesuit, Francis Goldie, from whose *Life of St. Alonzo Rodriguez* I have taken the account of this foolishness, is far from condemning it. On the contrary, he justifies the behaviour of the saint, for it might indeed have been possible that the Rector wished his command, "to eat the whole dish," to be taken literally.*

During my novitiate and scholasticate these ascetic and edifying stories were generally circulated and greatly admired.

When Behrens was Rector and Master of the novices, one of his disciplinary practices was to say to a novice or scholastic whom he happened to meet: "Remain standing where you are till I return." Sometimes he did not come back for several hours, though his victim remained stationary in the garden in the glaring sun, or rain, or snow, or darkness. Another of his disciplinary orders was to jump to and fro over a little ditch in the garden for several minutes, or to dig useless holes in the ground.

We novices, with the approval of Meschler, our Novice-Master, used to encourage one another in such ascetic practices as these: when peeling potatoes in the kitchen, to evoke a sensation of self-contempt for each potato; when picking beans in the garden, to bow towards the chapel

* *Life of St. Alonzo Rodriguez*, London, 1902, p. 277.

at every tenth bean in order to adore Christ in the sacrament, at the same time uttering a short prayer.

Ascetic practices of almost daily occurrence among Jesuits are: Kissing the feet of others during meals; taking meals kneeling at a small table in the middle of the refectory; accusing themselves of all manner of faults before all the others in the refectory (the fathers, scholastics and novices do this in Latin, the lay brothers in German); stretching themselves full length on the threshold of the refectory, so that all the others must step over them; saying grace before meals with extended arms.

With subtle calculation Jesuit ascetics are directed towards the mind rather than the body. Not crucifixion of the flesh, but of the will, *i.e.* the destruction of the individual, is the ascetic aim of the Order. And it achieves this murder with systematic skill. I have already shown how the Jesuit system destroys individuality in religious and daily life, and shall show later how it kills intellectual individuality.

Thus the ascetic discipline of the Order transforms a complete human being into a complete Jesuit.

CHAPTER XIII

PERSONAL EXPERIENCES

THE adoption of the Jesuit garb in the morning of November 13th, 1878, by no means accomplished my transformation into a Jesuit novice, still less a complete Jesuit. The saying that " Clothes make men " is nowhere less true than in the Jesuit Order. For there the garb is nothing, the inner meaning everything.

Unconditionally, with my whole body and soul, I surrendered myself to the transformation. From the very beginning the struggle was a hard one for me, harder than for many others.

I never laid great stress on the accidents of the position in which I was born, though there were moments when I too suffered from pride of birth. Still it was a fact that there was an immense difference between the customs of my home and the habits of the novitiate house. In the one were ease and comfort, not to say luxury, in the other limitation, lack of comfort, poverty, roughness. The Count and his social privileges disappeared completely, and in his place appeared the Carissimus, a number among many others. Some outward privations and sources of mortification have already been mentioned, among them the lack of cleanliness.

In Rodriguez' *Practice of Christian Perfection* we read in Part II. :

" Let us examine the nature of a man's body. ' Always bear in mind,' says St. Bernard, ' these three things : What wast thou ? A stinking seed. What art thou ?

A vessel full of impurity. What wilt thou be? Food for worms.' If you notice carefully the excretions of your mouth, nose, and the other passages of your body, you will never have seen a more disgusting abomination."

This passage expresses the fundamental attitude of Jesuit asceticism to the human body and its care. And the practice corresponds to it. During the novitiate we used to read a good deal in a Latin book of devotion by the Jesuit Hausherr, containing the lives of particularly pious Jesuits. I forget the title. Among the things worthy of imitation there described are that this or that saint-like Jesuit never took a bath, washed himself but little, and did not remove the vermin from his body. What I suffered from fleas in my Jesuit days I could not describe. When the plague grew too bad a notice was put upon the board of the scholasticate or novitiate, *Hora* 10 *venatio pulicum* (Flea-hunt at 10 o'clock). Then during the time allotted each of us had to search his clothes, and especially the woollen blankets for the little brownish beasts. Often I bagged as many as twenty of this noble game.

The Constitutions prescribe six so-called "experiments"* to be performed during the novitiate. They are: the Exercises, service of the sick in a public hospital, a begging-journey without any money, the kitchen experiment, catechising, and, if the novice is a priest, preaching and hearing confessions. With the exception of the Exercises all the "experiments" are directed towards outward mortification and self-annihilation. As at the time of my novitiate the German Province was in exile, and was regarded officially as *provincia dispersa*, a scattered province, two of the experiments, service of the sick and the begging tour, were omitted, and the catechising was confined to school practice among the novices; public preaching and hearing confessions were not required of

* Exam. gen., IV., 9–23.

me as a layman. As a result, the only experiment I had to undergo besides the Exercises, which aimed rather at inward than outward mortification, was the *experimentum culinae.* This meant that for one week I was exempt from all other duties, but had to serve as an assistant to the brother cook, and perform all manner of services in the kitchen, always excepting cooking, fortunately for our digestions. But as the object of each experiment was mortification, provision was made here too for this, and the temper and moods of the brother cook, or indeed the particular directions of the Novice Master, afforded plentiful opportunities for a variety of outward and inward humiliations.

Akin to the kitchen experiment were the daily manual labours. Under the supervision of the Manuductor the novices in their *turmae* had to perform the labours of house and garden. Generally we remained in the same occupation for three or six months ; but from disciplinary as well as domestic reasons we were sent for a while to work with other divisions, so that each novice had some experience of every kind of labour in house and garden. For several months I had charge of all the lamps in the house, and afterwards the privies were also placed under my charge. When an addition was made to the building we novices had to wheel up cement and sand in barrows and, forming a chain, throw the bricks from hand to hand to their destination, an occupation which resulted in badly torn hands.

I have already alluded to the difference in age and education between myself and the other novices. This supplied a constant and fertile source of mortification. And the fact that mere boys, who for the most part came from the Second Class of the school, had a right in their capacity of Guardian Angels and Prefects to order me about made no small demands on my self-mortification.

What I found particularly hard was the daily *exercitium scribendi*, writing copies. For a man of twenty-seven, who has passed his law examination and begun to practise, it is indeed no small thing to have to take writing lessons from a mere usher and daily to have faults pointed out to him. My writing master (*praefectus scribendi*) was Carissimus Droste, a worthy Westphalian, who exercised his office with zeal and thoroughness, and attacked my caligraphy unmercifully. This particular exercise plainly revealed its real object, humiliation, and the unpleasant disciplinary effect was thus enhanced.

Another exercise which afforded plentiful scope for painful humiliation was reading aloud at meals. At dinner and supper every day two novices, whose turn was taken in the following week by others, read aloud from Latin and German ascetic works. One of the Fathers—at Exaeten it was the Socius of the Novice-Master, Stellbrink—was *praefectus lectionis ad mensam*, and it was his duty publicly to correct the pronunciation and diction. In a loud voice, which sounded through the hall, he would call out: *Repetat distinctius* (more clearly), or *lentius* (more slowly), and so forth. This public correction was often used for disciplinary purposes, for the reader would be corrected and admonished to read better and more correctly for no reason whatever except to train him in enduring public blame. In such cases *repetats* were frequent, and additional comments, *e.g. Miror te tam male pronuntiare* (I am surprised at your bad pronunciation), added a further sting to the reprimand. These disciplinary schoolings were particularly painful for me, in view of my age and my former social position. But I recognise gratefully that, apart from the intentional humiliation, I improved greatly in clear enunciation.

Soon after my entrance in the novitiate I was initiated into the mysteries of penitential practices. The Novice-

Master handed me a scourge of knotted cords and a ring (*cilicium*) of woven wire, and instructed me in the use of these implements. The scourge was to be applied to that part of the body which at home and at school is the usual recipient of blows; the penitentiary ring was fastened above the knee round the leg. But the rule was to make sparing use of both, and indeed in the Jesuit Order no great value is set on bodily severities. For the Constitutions lay down the sensible principle, that it is better to preserve bodily powers for work than to weaken them by penance. The amount of pain caused by the scourge depends on the energy of the person who applies it to himself. But the *cilicium* acted of itself, and the wearing it for hours or days produced no inconsiderable pain.

But all this and much else was as nothing compared with the struggles to attain an inward transformation.

I have already described the repugnance with which I accepted the " grace of vocation " and took the step of entering the Order. My deep repugnance was not lessened by the typical ultramontane idealism with which I, too, was inspired. It was the motive power which carried my resisting nature across the threshold of the Order, but it in no wise lessened my inborn resistance. All through the long years from November 4th, 1878, when I entered the novitiate house at Exaeten, until the middle of November, 1892, when I took the final resolve of leaving the Order, this repugnance was my constant attendant. Often for long spaces of time it became so strong in me that in order to endure my position I developed a power of will that would be hard to rival.

First there was the general repugnance to entering an Order at all, and the separation from the world. But this was very soon succeeded by the particular repugnance to the Jesuit Order and to some of its essential characteristics. Especially the " Statement of Conscience " and

the system of supervision proved the greatest obstacles to me.

The Statement of Conscience, in which the innermost secrets of the soul must be disclosed to the critical eye of the Superior, appeared to me a measure of violence and a profanation. I felt even then instinctively that this particular fundamental practice of the Order had as its aim a condition of dependence and the destruction of individuality. And it was just this against which my nature revolted.

I was also repelled by the comprehensive systems of supervision and denunciation. As a novice I was not aware of their full extent, nor of the secret confessions, second catalogues and the like; but even then I had a feeling that behind all those outward forms of supervision, and the discipline and self-abnegation at which they aimed, there was yet something more, that a system was striving to grasp me in its hold to which the name espionage could really be applied.

Many and many a time I expressed this feeling to my Novice-Master, Mauritius Meschler, and asked him whether there were not such things as secret reports and the like. He invariably denied it. Once, after one of the daily instructions, I openly, in the presence of the other novices, inquired as to the existence of "conduct-lists." No, he said, there was no such thing. In fact there was no secret supervision at all; in the Jesuit Order there was nothing but what was outwardly visible, and all such measures of supervision as were to be seen were only intended to maintain outward order. It was only many years later that I recognised the insincerity and untruth (the fundamental and traditional Jesuit faults) of this answer.

I also had discussions with Meschler about the Statement of Conscience, in so far as it includes the obligation

of confessing sins without sacramental safeguards or sacramental effect, which at any rate exist theoretically in confession.

When I now remember how credulous I then was, with what simple confidence I accepted all the answers given me, I recognise with absolute clearness how mighty is the influence of education. The religious impressions of my home and the years at Feldkirch had built a wall around me, which repelled all doubts and difficulties. It was only when, in the course of years, it began to crumble, that doubts and difficulties began to penetrate and gradually to take possession of my understanding and will. In the past they had seemed to me temptations of the devil and served only to spur me to greater effort in opposing these diabolical attacks. This point of view was specially emphasised by the Novice-Master, and afterwards by my superiors and spiritual fathers: every doubt, every consideration on any point in the Jesuit system was a temptation of the evil one. This made it easy to encounter doubt, for hesitation and uncertainty were transformed by ascetic dexterity into blows of the hammer which bound the Jesuit structure even more closely and firmly around me.

Indeed, no one outside these circles can imagine the part which the devil plays in the Romish Church and its Orders. He serves as tout and doorkeeper. With his help and the fear he inspires they contrive to stifle every effort after freedom and independence.

I have already stated that, after the first hard struggles were over and I had grown accustomed to my new state, the quiet and seclusion of the novitiate house had a beneficial effect on me. Only one result of this seclusion continued to cause me the greatest trouble, because it was in itself unnatural. I refer to the separation from my relations.

Had this separation been outward only, though a hard sacrifice, I could have borne it. Other professions, too, involved such separations, why not membership of an Order? But Jesuits ask of their adepts far more, and something quite essentially different. They demand complete mental detachment, even renunciation of those with whom we are united in the strongest and most intimate bonds by nature herself, our parents, brothers and sisters, and other kinsfolk.

This demand and its practical application are embodied in the directions already quoted as to leaving father and mother, and instead of saying that he has relations saying rather that he had them. The Constitutions also lay it down that:

"As written or verbal intercourse with friends or relations contributes rather to the disturbance of peace than to spiritual progress, especially at first, the novices should be asked whether they are satisfied to hold no intercourse with these, to receive no letters, and to write none, unless the Superior should judge it better otherwise; and if they agree that all letters that they may receive or despatch shall be read, and that it shall rest with the Superior to deliver the letters or not, according as it may seem to him best in the Lord."*

Surely it is not necessary to explain that the words of Christ in Matthew x. and Luke xiv. as to the relations between His disciples and their kinsfolk, which have been adopted in the Jesuit rule, apply only when there is irreconcilable opposition between the service of Christ and affection for relations. And here, as in so many of Christ's sayings, the Oriental exaggeration of the expression, as in enjoining hatred to parents, must be subtracted from the meaning of the command. But the Jesuit Order pushes the actual meaning of the words aside, and repre-

* Exam. gen., IV., 6; Const., I., 4, 4; III., 1, Declar. B.

sents it as a general rule for the attitude of its members to their relations, instead of applying it only where there is distinct opposition between the love of Christ and of kin. The Rule runs: "They should lay aside all natural inclination towards those to whom they are bound by ties of blood." Thus the true Jesuit becomes a creature without heart or feelings, to whom father, mother, brothers and sisters are nothing but subjects for his activity as a member of the Order, just like any other persons.

The fruits of this principle may be judged from the letter of a novice, written to his father from the novitiate house at Vienna when the Order was suppressed in 1773. It is of great importance, for the writer afterwards became professor of philosophy at Jena and Kiel. He must therefore have been a youth of intellectual gifts, well fitted to grasp and reproduce the aim and essence of Jesuit education. And the fact that this letter was written with the express sanction of his Superior—as, indeed, is the case with all Jesuit letters—is a sufficient proof that Reinhold had rightly grasped and reproduced the attitude of a Jesuit to his nearest kin. Here is the text of this letter, which has an interest from the sociological point of view as throwing light on the Jesuit spirit:

"Now, of course, it occurred to me that I must return home to my parents. But, since the rule of love, of which the Manuductor reminded us, still bids us hold by our holy Jesuit rule, I durst not consciously and willingly think of you and my parental home, since this cannot be done without a breach of the rule, except in the intention of praying for parents and kinsfolk. So zealous a Christian as yourself, my dearest papa, knows almost as well as a priest that there are ties more sacred than those of sinful nature, and that a man who is dead to the flesh and only lives for the spirit, can rightly have no other father than Him Who dwells in Heaven, no other mother than the holy Order, nor any relations but his brothers in Christ, nor other fatherland than Heaven. Attachment to flesh

and blood, as all spiritual teachers agree, is one of the strongest chains with which Satan tries to bind us to earth. Indeed only yesterday evening, and through the night and this morning, I had almost as hard a fight with this hereditary foe of our perfection as at the very beginning of my spiritual life. For he continuously conjured before my mental vision papa and mamma, my brothers and sisters, uncles and aunts, even our housemaid. You may imagine the torments of conscience I had to endure, until at last, at nine o'clock this morning, the Manuductor informed us that the Father Rector gave us all permission to write to our relations and prepare them for our return. For the greater satisfaction of my conscience I asked the Manuductor for special permission to think of my nearest kin, not only while writing but during the whole day; and this was accorded, with the sole exception of the times set apart for meditation, spiritual reading, and the Angelus domini."

After requesting that a special room may be assigned him in his home, in which he may continue as far as possible the mode of life to which he has grown accustomed in the Order, the novice continues:

"From this time forth none of the maids shall enter the room, nor yet one of my sisters. And I desire to remind my dear mamma that Saint Aloysius never looked on the face of his mother."*

It would be almost impossible to give stronger expression to this detestable distortion of nature. And it is only confirmed by my personal experiences. With gentle skill and the constant application of words of Scripture, the Jesuit as novice, and afterwards as scholastic, is systematically divested of his natural affection for his relations. Indeed how could natural emotions, no matter how right or fundamental, be admissible in the case of a tool without will, intended exclusively to serve the ends of the Order? Everything natural must be forced out of the individual, and the whole Jesuit system must be

* Ernest Reinhold, *Karl Leonard Reinhold's Leben und litterarisches Wirken*, Jena, 1825, p. 9 *et seq.*

forced in. Here, too, the theory of the corpse and stick is valid.

One of my fellow novices, now a valued contributor to the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, the Jesuit Kneller, lost his mother during his novitiate. When I expressed my sympathy to him, he said, in the presence of other novices, that it was wrong to feel sorrow, and that tears for such a death were unworthy a Jesuit. This utterance, which aroused the admiration of the others, affected me like a blow, and I asked the Socius of the Novice-Master, Stellbrink, to explain it and soften the statement. His answer was to refer me to a saying of Jerome, one of the Fathers, addressed, I believe, to his spiritual daughter Eustochium: "Having trodden my mother under my feet I follow after Christ."

The above quoted rule as to correspondence with relations was strictly observed. But as my mother was a devoted admirer and considerable benefactress of the Jesuit Order, since it was her influence which had led my father to assign his Dutch estate Blyenbeck to the Jesuits on their expulsion from Germany, an exceptional position was allowed her in regard to intercourse with me. For the Order has a real genius in keeping on good terms with those who can be of use to it. She was allowed to write a few letters to me, and once even to come and see me. But she never knew that her son, following the ascetic counsel of the Novice-Master, did not read her letters. Even at this day, thirty years after, I cannot restrain my indignation when I remember that under the tyrannical and inhuman influence of Jesuit asceticism I destroyed the few letters I received from such a mother. That, too, was to tread my mother under my feet. But the sacrifice this cost me, none knew but I.

In making this sacrifice I was not so much devoid as regardless of will. I surrendered myself to all mortifi-

cations and self-denial of body and soul with energy and persistency; I do not shrink from saying so, since it is true. Not one of my former superiors or fellow-Jesuits can deny this, if he abides by the truth. I dwell on this, because I desire at once to make it clear that from the very first I tried honestly and with the exercise of all my powers to become a genuine and complete Jesuit. When on the morning of November 13th, 1878, I put on the Jesuit garb, I did so in spite of strong inward resistance—indeed the rather because of this resistance—which seemed to me a temptation, and with a devotion which comprised and penetrated my whole being—reason, will, feeling, body and soul. This complete surrender, with the corresponding spirit of sacrifice, lasted through all the years of my life in the Order, until after torturing struggles a truer understanding gradually dispelled the religious prejudices which had been accumulated by tradition and education.

A little while either before or after Christmas, 1879, the Novice-Master surprised me by the suggestion that I should take the devotional vows on February 2nd, 1880, Candlemas-day.*

The so-called devotional vows (*vota ex devotione*) resemble the simple vows, taken after the completion of the novitiate, of poverty, chastity, obedience; but as they are the outcome of private devotion (whence the name), they have not the canonical force of the actual vows of the Order. Concerning the votive vows the 37th Decree of the 16th General Congregation (1730) lays down:

"The Masters of Novices are to be admonished that these vows may only be taken with consent of the Provincial Superior, and only by such as have given satis-

* The day set apart in memory of the Virgin's dedication in the Temple at Jerusalem. It is called Candlemas, because during the mass the supply of candles required for the following year is consecrated.

factory proof of their virtue and attachment to their vocation."

Permission to take these devotional vows, the existence of which I only learnt through the suggestion of the Novice-Master, was therefore an indication that I had given satisfaction and won the confidence of the Superiors.

Other indications, too, were not wanting that I was regarded favourably in the Order. My fellow-novices were convinced that I should only have to spend a year in the novitiate house and then pass on at once to the studies of the scholasticate. Towards the end of my second novitiate year Anderledy, then Assistant of the German Province, and afterwards General of the Order, wrote to me that he and the General, Father Beckx, had heard with great satisfaction that I was zealously striving to become a good Jesuit. Every time Hövel, the Provincial Superior, paid his annual visitation at Exaeten, he expressed his satisfaction with my endeavours after Jesuit perfection; and I could tell from various indications that my Novice-Master shared his opinions.

During the two years of my novitiate, five or six of my fellow-novices were dismissed from the Order. These expulsions always made a profound impression on us, which the Superiors did all in their power to strengthen. They desired to impress upon us the inestimable privilege of being a Jesuit, the terrible loss and danger to our salvation of forfeiting this grace.

Those who live and die as Jesuits are sure of salvation. That is the dogma of the Order, as binding as any Church dogma. Those who become Jesuits and leave the Order can, theoretically, still be saved, but—but—but—but——

These two doctrines, the Jesuit's security of salvation and the extreme probability of damnation for the ex-Jesuit, furnish an effective means of holding individuals to the Order. The novitiate especially is the period

utilised for fixing the doctrine of Jesuit predestination firmly in heart and soul.

On my very first day as postulant, a pamphlet by the French Jesuit Terrien was put into my hands and recommended for perusal, in which admission into the Society of Jesus was theoretically demonstrated to be a *gage certain de prédestination*, and a number of miraculous circumstances were brought forward to prove this.

Francis Borgia, third General of the Order, in 1569 received a revelation from God that no Jesuit would be sent to hell, with this proviso, that for the present this privilege should only be valid for three hundred years. A similar revelation was made in 1599 to the lay brother, Alonzo Rodriguez, canonised in 1888.

By command of God a dying Capucin in the year 1587 made a similar revelation to the Jesuit Matrez at Naples, adding that though many Capucins were saved, yet some were damned.

Once Saint Teresa saw a number of souls ascending from purgatory to heaven. At their head was a soul that shone more brightly than the rest, and Christ Himself came out from heaven to welcome and embrace it. When the saint expressed her surprise she received enlightenment. This was not surprising, for this was the soul of a Jesuit lay brother, and it was one of the privileges of the Order that Christ Himself went forth to meet every Jesuit soul.*

When they were about to place in the coffin the stiffened corpse of a Jesuit lay brother who had died in Flanders (according to the Jesuit Cienfuegos), the dead man suddenly came back to life and exclaimed: "I come from hell; the devils were already carrying me down below when the Virgin appeared and said: 'Set him free, for he is of the Company of my Son, and duly practised obedience,

* Döllinger-Reusch, *Moralstreitigkeiten*, I., 524, 526, 527, and II., 348.

therefore it is my will that he make a good confession.'" He confessed, and thereupon died a second time, though not without making the amiable revelation that an immoral secular priest who had died at the same time and been dragged down to hell had not found grace in Mary's eyes.*

It is interesting to note that here, too, the Catholic dogma that no one condemned to hell can be saved is simply set aside *in majorem Societatis Jesu gloriam.*

John Roothaan, General of the Order 1829–1853, relates that an aged Jesuit had demanded and obtained dismissal from the Order. Soon after he died, and appearing to another said: "I am damned through my own fault. Had I remained two hours longer in the Society of Jesus I should have died a Jesuit and gone to heaven." †

Such and similar tales are largely current within the Order, and are firmly believed, so firmly that the Professor of Ethics for the Austrian Province, Costa Rosetti, could write that it was a well-founded and very probable belief that all Jesuits went to heaven.‡

In August, 1880, I was sent with the other novices of my year to Wynandsrade to begin my studies in the Order.

A little while before I left Exaeten the Novice-Master handed me a letter which, without my knowledge, had been lying there for nearly two years. It was from my cousin, Baron Walter von Loë, afterwards General-Adjutant and General Field-Marshal, and at that time, if I am not mistaken, Brigade Commander at Frankfort on the Oder. My cousin, who was many years older than myself, and always showed great interest in me, lamented my entrance in the Order, and called my attention to the badness of the Jesuit system which could, however, be combined

* Döllinger-Reusch, I., 532. † *Ibid.*, I., 534.

‡ *De spiritu Societatis Jesu*, Freiburg, 1888, p. 258, from D.-R., *Ibid.*, I., 534.

with partial goodness on the part of the individual Jesuit. The letter, torn into fragments, went the way of all flesh. I smiled at his illogical idea that a system could be bad and yet the individuals who composed it be good.

Many years afterwards Walter Loë, at that time General in Command of the Eighth Army Corps, repeated his opinion to me by word of mouth. I no longer smiled at it, for the recognition of the truth of his illogical conception had begun to take root in me.

In his old age, Walter Loë, who formerly was anything but ultramontane, became a fanatical adherent of Ultramontanism, and was often quoted as such by the party in the Rhinelands and Westphalia. Unfortunately his influence in this respect has had a reactionary effect on the Court at Carlsruhe even to the present day. He was one of the most intimate friends of the old Grand Duke and Duchess. The Catholic sympathies of the Dowager Grand Duchess Luise, who still governs though she does not reign, owe their origin to Loë, though also of course to her mother, the Empress Augusta.

My migration from Exaeten to Wynandsrade was the close of my novitiate and the beginning of my scholasticate. But as the two years' novitiate required by the Constitutions did not terminate till November 4th, 1880, the anniversary of my admission as postulant, I still remained a novice till I took my vows on November 13th, 1880, the festival of the Jesuit saint, Stanislaus Kostka. After that day I was a scholastic.

CHAPTER XIV

THE INNER CONSTITUTION OF THE ORDER

THESE vows, which I took on November 13th, 1880, in the presence of the Jesuit Hermann Nix, at Wynandsrade, marked my admission into the Order. For a novice is not in the full sense a member of the Order, since he has not taken the vows.*

Here, then, I begin my description of the scholasticate—*i.e.* the real life of the Order. This is, therefore, the place for a purely objective account of the organisation of the Order as set forth in its Constitutions, to be followed by a detailed criticism of the whole system.

The Jesuit Order, under the official designation of *Societas Jesu*, was established by the bull of Paul III., *Regimini militantis ecclesiae* of the year 1540.

Its founder, Ignatius Loyola, a Basque nobleman, was also the author of its Constitutions. But the completion of the organisation was achieved later, mainly under the Fifth General, Claudius Acquaviva.

Like the "Exercises," the origin of the Constitutions is surrounded by Jesuit arrogance with a nimbus of miracles.

"The primary author (*auctor primarius*) of the Constitutions was the Holy Ghost, the secondary author

* Properly speaking, the scholasticate continues till the last vows are taken, whether those of "Formed Coadjutor" or of "Professed," and as when I left the Order at the end of 1892 I had not yet taken these last vows, I was, strictly speaking, a scholastic during the whole of my stay in the Order. But in the year 1887 I passed the important examination in philosophy and theology, and so concluded my studies and began my work in the Order. That is why this year marks the end of my scholasticate.

(*auctor secundarius*) was St. Ignatius." This thesis is demonstrated by Francis Suarez (the greatest theologian of the Jesuit Order) in his treatise *De Religione*, and is approved by the Bollandists.*

"What Ignatius wrote down in the Constitutions," says the Jesuit Orlandinus, "was not so much his own as it was dictated by God," (!) and the Jesuit Ribadeneira modestly adds: "The Constitutions of the Jesuit Order are so perfect that they would suffice for reforming all other ecclesiastical orders in their likeness." †

The Jesuit Alonzo Rodriguez also maintains, in his "Practice of Christian Perfection," that the Constitutions and Rules were suggested to Ignatius by God Himself.

That monumental Jesuit volume, the *Imago primi saeculi*, whose importance in assisting the comprehension of the Jesuit spirit I shall demonstrate in a later chapter, states:

"No less are the Constitutions of the Society a superhuman work and one worthy to have been taught by the Virgin Mary. Our holy Father [Ignatius] himself testifies in one of his writings that the Mediators, under which name he designates Jesus and Mary, often came to him while he was composing the Constitutions, that the Society might know that the laws it obeyed were those of Jesus and Mary rather than of Ignatius." ‡

The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus consist of ten parts of varying length.

Part I.—Of admission to Probation: Cp. 1. Of him who has the power to admit. Cp. 2. Of such as may be admitted into the Society. Cp. 3. Of the impediments to admission into the Society. Cp. 4. Of the manner of admission.

* *De Religione*, tom. 4, tract. 10, lib. 1, c. 4, n. 4. *Acta S.S.*, 34, Julii 7, 486.

† *Acta S.S., Ibid.*, 503.

‡ *Imago primi saeculi* (Antwerp, 1640), p. 73 *et seq.*

Part II.—Of the dismissal of those who have been admitted to probation and are found unfit for the Society: Cp. 1. What persons may be dismissed and by whom. Cp. 2. Of the reasons for which anyone may be dismissed. Cp. 3. Of the manner of dismissal. Cp. 4. What should be the attitude of the Society towards those who leave it of their own accord or are dismissed by it.

Part III.—Of the superintendence and advancement of those who continue their probation. Cp. 1. Of their superintendence in those things which pertain to the soul and to progress in virtue. Cp. 2. Of the care of the body.

Part IV.—Of the instruction of those, who are retained in the Society, in letters and other things which contribute towards the assistance of our neighbours: Cp. 1. Of the commemoration of founders and benefactors of the Colleges. Cp. 2. Of those matters which relate to the temporal concerns of the Colleges. Cp. 3. Of the scholastics who will be stationed in the Colleges. Cp. 4. Of the care of the scholastics who are admitted. Cp. 5. Of the subjects to be studied by the scholastics of the Society. Cp. 6. How the scholastics may be helped to learn the subjects thoroughly. Cp. 7. Of the schools [for externs] of the Colleges of the Society. Cp. 8. How the scholastics are to be instructed in those matters which relate to the [spiritual] benefit of their neighbours. Cp. 9. Of the removal of scholars from the study of letters. Cp. 10. Of the government of the Colleges. Cp. 11. Of the taking over of Universities by the Society. Cp. 12. Of the sciences which are to be taught in the Universities of the Society. Cp. 13. Of the manner and order of teaching these sciences. Cp. 14. Of the books to be expounded. Cp. 15. Of the courses and degrees. Cp. 16. Of those things which appertain to good habits. Cp. 17. Of the officials and other persons appointed at the University.

Part V.—Of those things which pertain to admission into the body of the Society: Cp. 1. Of admission and who shall admit, and when. Cp. 2. What kind of persons are to be admitted. Cp. 3. Of the manner of admission to profession. Cp. 4. Of the admission of the Formed Coadjutors and Scholastics.

Part VI.—Of those who are admitted and co-opted * into the body of the Society: as regards their persons. Cp. 1. Of those things which pertain to obedience. Cp. 2. Of those things which pertain to poverty and follow from it. Cp. 3. Of those things with which the members of the Society should be occupied, and of those from which they should abstain. Cp. 4. Of the help which is given to those who die in the Society and of the offices rendered after their death.

Part VII.—Of the distribution of those who have been admitted into the body of the Society for the benefit of their neighbours in the Lord's vineyard: Cp. 1. Of the missions of the Superior of the Society. Cp. 2. Of willingness to travel in any direction. Cp. 3. In what things the houses and colleges of the Society may benefit their neighbour.

Part VIII.—Of those things which contribute to the mutual union with their Head and among themselves of those members who are dispersed: Cp. 1. Of that which helps to promote the union of minds. Cp. 2. In what cases a General Congregation should be held. Cp. 3. Who are to be summoned to it. Cp. 4. Who is bound to summon the General Congregation. Cp. 5. Of the place, time, and manner of assembling. Cp. 6. Of the manner of deliberation at the election of a General. Cp. 7. Of the manner of deliberation when the

* Curiously enough, the word "*co-optare*" is used, although admission to the Society of Jesus in no way depends on co-option, but is at the absolute discretion of the Superior.

discussion concerns matters other than the election of a General.

Part IX.—Of those things which relate to the Head of the Society and the government proceeding from him: Cp. 1. That the General placed at the head should be appointed for life. Cp. 2. What manner of man the General should be. Cp. 3. Of the authority of the General over the Society, and of his office. Cp. 4. Of the authority or supervision which the Society must have over its General. Cp. 5. Of the manner in which the Society should proceed in matters appertaining to the General. Cp. 6. Of those things which will assist the General to discharge his office worthily.

Part X. consists of a single section on the manner in which the whole body of the Society may be preserved and advanced in its good estate.

The Constitutions are prefaced by "The First and General Examination, which must be submitted to by all who seek admission to the Society of Jesus." Cp. 1. Of the Institute of the Society of Jesus and the various persons in it. Cp. 2. Of certain cases concerning which those who seek admission into the Society should be asked as to whether they have occurred to them. Cp. 3. Of certain questions to assist the better comprehension of those who desire to enter. Cp. 4. Of certain things which it is specially important for those who are admitted into the Society to know from among those rules which they must observe after entrance. Cp. 5. Of another somewhat more detailed examination, which is suitable for men of education, both the spiritual coadjutors and scholastics. Cp. 6. Of another examination suitable for coadjutors only. Cp. 7. Of another examination suitable for scholastics, especially before they are admitted as scholastics. Cp. 8. Of another examination suitable for indifferent persons.

Besides the *Examen Generale*, the official editions of the "Institute of the Society of Jesus"—*e.g.* the Roman edition of 1869–70*—contain: 1. "The Decrees of the General Congregations." 2. "General and Particular Rules." 3. The "Formulæ for the General, Provincial, and Procuratorial Congregations." 4. "Ordinances and Instructions of the Generals of the Order." 5. The "Spiritual Exercises." 6. The *Ratio Studiorum.*

The "official" edition, published at Prague in 1757, also gives in eighty-one folio pages† seventy-two bulls, briefs, etc., granted by twenty Popes in favour of the Order. Since 1757 the number of pontifical favours has greatly increased.

Among the most important privileges are these: There is no appeal from the decisions of the Superiors of the Order to the bishops or other ecclesiastical authorities. Even the appeal to the Pope is only allowed when the permission to bring it has previously been obtained from him. The Order has the right to adopt new constitutions and alter the old ones without first consulting the Apostolic See. In such a case the decisions of the Order are *eo ipso* to be regarded as confirmed by the Pope. The Order may found settlements without the permission of the spiritual or temporal authorities. Members may everywhere preach, hear confessions, and discharge the other sacraments without permission from the ecclesiastical authority. The Order, with its members and possessions, is immediately subject to the Pope, and no bishop has any jurisdiction over it. The Order is exempt from all taxes and dues; authorities who attempt to tax it are excommunicated. The Order may make purchases for profit (a privilege granted by

* All references in this book, unless otherwise stated, are to the Roman edition of 1869–70.

† *Inst. S.J.* (Prague, 1751), I. 265-336.

Gregory XIII. in 1582). The Order can confer academic degrees. The Order can establish schools anywhere unhindered. The houses and churches of the Order have the right of sanctuary. Bishops who try to check gifts to the Jesuit Order are suspended. Everyone who attacks the privileges of the Order is excommunicated. Though not themselves monks, the Jesuits share all the privileges of the monastic orders. The bishops are compelled to consecrate to the priesthood without further examination all whom the Jesuit Order introduce for that purpose. Every Jesuit in any trouble of conscience may be satisfied with the judgment of his Superior. In case of expulsion no judicial forms are necessary; the General decides without any formality.

The quintessence of the Constitutions is laid down in the so-called *Formula Instituti*, which has been included in the confirmatory bulls, *Regimini militantis*, of Paul III. of 1540 and *Exposcit debitum* of Julius III. of 1562. The formula is as follows:

"Whoever wishes in this Society, which we desire should be distinguished by the name of Jesus, to fight as a soldier of God under the banner of the Cross, and to serve only the Lord and His bride, the Church, under the Roman Pope, the earthly Vicar of Christ, after taking the solemn vow of eternal chastity, poverty, and obedience, must realise that he is a member of a Society mainly established for the defence and propagation of the faith and the advancement of souls in the life and doctrine of Christ, by means of public preaching and the ministration of the Word of God, by Spiritual Exercises, and especially the instruction of boys and the unlearned in Christianity, and to supply spiritual consolation by the confession of the faithful and the other sacraments. He must also render service in reconciling quarrels, giving charitable assistance to those in prison and in hospital, and by other

works of love such as are suited to the honour of God and the general weal, doing all this without pay or reward for his labour."

After this general sketch of the aims and means of the Society of Jesus, the Formula gives general directions as to the internal structure and organisation: Obedience to the General who is elected by the Society; the establishment of General Congregations; the special vow of obedience to the Pope; emphasising of poverty; directions as to the colleges to be established, exclusively for those scholars who already belong to the Order (as scholastics); breviary for the priestly members of the Order; uniformity of outward life.

But, as we shall see presently, the quintessence, strangely enough, does not correspond absolutely to the *Substantialia Instituti*, the "essential contents of the Institute"; these the Order carefully keeps in obscurity.

GRADING

To the Society of Jesus in the widest sense belong "all who live under obedience to the General, including the novices and all who submit to probation with the intention of living and dying in the Society.*

In a limited sense it consists of the Professed, Formed Coadjutors, and Scholastics; in the strictest and narrowest sense (*acceptio maxime propria*) of the Professed (*professi dumtaxat*), not because the Society has no other members, but because the Professed are the most important.†

For the degree of "Professed" the requirements are:

1. A knowledge, attested by examination, of philosophy and theology sufficient for teaching these subjects. The

* Const. V., 1; Declar. A. † *Ibid.*

qualification of learning may be replaced by a special gift for governing or preaching.*

2. The possession of virtue exceeding mediocrity. Mediocrity in virtue is supposed to be surpassed "if anyone, as a rule, acts in accordance with virtue; if it may be assumed that he would act in like manner even in more difficult cases; if he avoids the lesser faults and gladly accepts admonitions and penance and is improved thereby; if his moral conduct satisfy his superiors and comembers." †

Besides virtue surpassing mediocrity a definite amount of knowledge is also required for profession.

"Towards the end of the fourth Theology year the last examination, which must extend over at least two hours, must be undergone by every student with a view to his profession. A variety of questions are to be set on the principal points of philosophy and theology. No one shall be adjudged fit to make his profession who has not attained sufficient knowledge of philosophy and theology to be able to teach both branches satisfactorily. If anyone whose knowledge does not reach this standard shows such conspicuous gifts for ruling or preaching that they cannot be overlooked, the decision in the matter rests with the General. He, too, must decide about those whose remarkable knowledge of the Humanities or Indian languages entitles them to some consideration in accordance with the 29th Decree of the sixth General Congregation." ‡

The "Formed Coadjutors" are divided into Spiritual Coadjutors (priests) and Temporal Coadjutors (lay brothers). Both belong to the same class of member.

Besides these classes the *Examen generale* also men-

* Congreg. 7; Decret. 33, 3; *Ratio Stud. Reg. Provinc.*, 19, 11.

† Congreg. 9; Can. 19.

‡ *Ratio Stud. Reg. Provinc.*, 19, 11.

tions "Indifferent persons"—*i.e.* such of whom it is not yet decided to which class they will belong, and it adds significantly:

"All who enter should, as far as they themselves are concerned, belong to the fourth class" (the Indifferents).*

The distribution of the Order is according to Assistancies and Provinces. At the present time there are four Assistancies, with twenty-four Provinces and three Missions. To every Assistancy belong several Provinces. The Assistancies are: Italy, with five Provinces; Germany, with six (Germany, Austria, Hungary (since 1909), Galicia, Holland, Belgium); France, with four provinces; Spain, with five provinces; England, with four provinces and three missions.

At the time of the suppression of the Order (1773) the total of membership was 22,589. In 1901 it had again risen to 15,145,† including 6,647 priests; and at the present time its membership has probably passed the sixteenth thousand.

CONSTITUTION

The Vows.—Like all other Orders, the Society of Jesus is based on the three vows of Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience. But the ordinances of the Jesuit Order in regard to its vows contain much that is unusual and noteworthy.

The Jesuit Order has three kinds of vows: the so-called simple vows (*vota simplicia*), which the novice takes after the completion of his two years' novitiate, and by means of which he passes into the class of scholastics; the final vows, which are divided into the solemn

* Exam. gen., 1, 7.

† *Staatslexikon der Görresgesellschaft*, (2) 4, 183.

vows of the Professed and the non-solemn vows of the Formed Coadjutors.

The simple vows of the Scholastics and of those Spiritual and Temporal Coadjutors who have not yet taken the last vows are as follows:

"Almighty, everlasting God, I, N—— N——, although altogether unworthy of Thy divine countenance, yet trusting in Thy endless goodness and mercy and impelled by the desire to serve Thee, vow before the Holy Virgin Mary and the whole Court of Heaven of Thy divine Majesty, to maintain everlasting poverty, chastity, and obedience in the Society of Jesus, and I promise to enter this Society with the intention of living in it always, understanding everything in accordance with the Constitutions of this Society. And I ask of Thy endless goodness and mercy, humbly through the blood of Jesus Christ, that Thou mayest receive this sacrifice of sweet savour, and that as Thou hast given the grace to desire and offer it, so Thou mayest give sufficient grace to carry it out."

These "simple vows," through the bull *Ascendente Domino*, published by Gregory XIII., May 25th, 1584, have the effect of constituting an impediment to marriage—*i.e.* even the Jesuit scholastic, from the moment of taking the vow, usually before the attainment of his twentieth year, is "incapable" of marriage, though in other orders the effect of the simple vows is only to make marriage non-permissible, but not invalid (*matrimonium illicitum sed validum*).

The vow taken by the Professed is as follows:

"I, N—— N——, make profession, and I promise Almighty God, before His Virgin Mother and the whole Court of Heaven and all here present, and before Thee, O Venerable Father, General Superintendent of the Society of Jesus, or thy Representative, to maintain everlasting poverty, chastity, and obedience, and in

accordance with obedience I promise to give especial care to the education of boys conformably with the mode of life which is laid down for the Society of Jesus in the Apostolic Letters and in the Constitutions of the Society. Further, I promise special obedience to the Pope in regard to missions, as is laid down in the Apostolic Letter granted to the Society of Jesus and in the Constitutions."

The Professed of three vows, who do not constitute a separate class, take the same vow, but without the promise of obedience to the Pope.*

Besides these solemn vows, the Professed take five so-called minor vows:

1. Never to change the rules of the Order as to poverty unless it were to strengthen them. 2. Never to strive after any dignity within the Society. 3. Never to strive after any dignity outside the Society, and only to accept one when obedience requires it. 4. To report anyone who shows any such desire. 5. To pay heed to the counsel of the General Superior, even if the rank of a prelate outside the Society has been attained.

The final vows of the Spiritual Coadjutors have the same wording as those of the Professed, with the omission of the promise of obedience to the Pope and the five minor vows of the Professed.

The final vows of the Temporal Coadjutors (lay brothers) are the same as for the Spiritual Coadjutors, with the omission of the promise to help in the education of youth.

Mode of Government.—The opinion is very generally current that the government of the Jesuit Order is an absolute monarchy, and that the General is constitutionally an autocrat. But this is not the case.

Undoubtedly an immense deal of power is concen-

* Exam. gen., 1; Decl. D. Const. V., 2, 3, and Decl. C; Cong. 4, Decret. 54.

trated in the Head of the Order, the General, and as a rule the whole of the executive power is in his hands. For all that, he is anything but an absolute ruler, and it would be hard to find a community in which the various powers are more delicately interbalanced than the Jesuit Order. This skilful balance of equilibrium finds expression in the Constitutions:

"It is very important that the individual Superiors should possess considerable power over their subordinates and the General over these Superiors, but also that the whole Society should have considerable power (*multum potestatis*) over the General, so that all may be able to do all things for good, and that if they [the individuals] should act unwisely, they may be entirely subordinate [to the others]." *

At the head of the whole Order is the General. He is elected by the General Congregation for life, but may be deposed on certain grounds.

With extraordinary wisdom and statesmanship, though clearly and concisely, the Constitutions set forth the necessity of electing a General Superintendent (*Praepositus generalis*, the official title of the General of the Order) for the term of his life.

"As it is necessary that in all well-regulated states besides those persons who pursue particular aims there should be one or several charged with the care for the general welfare and who direct their labours towards this end as their own particular duty, so it is also necessary for this Society, that besides those who preside over the different Houses, Colleges, and Provinces, there should be one whose duty it is to care for the whole Society, and this is the General, who is to preside over the Society for the term of his life, because the experience thus gained, the practice in government, the exact

* Const. X., 1, 8.

knowledge of the individual members, and the authority gained over them, contribute greatly to the good administration of his office. A second advantage of appointing the General for life is that it gives less consideration and opportunity for ambitious aspiration (*omnis cogitatio et occasio ambitionis longius recedet*); also it is easier to find one person suited to this office than several. A third is the example furnished by important communities; thus, in the ecclesiastical domain the Pope and bishops, in the secular the princes and lords, are appointed for life. Again, the authority of the General will be greater in the eyes of the world if he cannot be changed, than if he were elected only for one or several years . . . and with our members the knowledge that he will presently abdicate his office and be their equal or even inferior would lower his authority." *

Among the various gifts with which the person to be elected General should be specially endowed, the Constitutions, after enumerating moral and intellectual qualities—*e.g.* virtue and wisdom—go on to speak of "the rank and wealth which he had in the world, his honourable position, and other similar things. To these circumstances, too, some regard should be paid, other things being equal; but the former are more important, and should suffice for election, even if the latter be lacking." †

The powers of the General, which extend to the whole outer and inner direction of the Order, are enumerated under twenty headings in the third chapter of Part IX. This power is balanced by the "authority or supervision which the Society must have over its General." This supervision falls into four main divisions:

1. The Society sets a professed Jesuit by his side as his Admonisher (*Admonitor*). 2. The Society has the right to veto the acceptance of any dignities offered to

* Const. IX., 1, and Declar. † Const. IX., 2; Declar. C.

him which are incompatible with the execution of his duties as General. 3. The Society appoints a Vicar-General by means of a Congregation specially summoned for the purpose through the written suffrages of a definite number of Professed members, in case the General should "prove himself careless and idle in matters of importance," or should fall ill. 4. The Society can depose the General, if he commits deadly sins which are revealed to the world; above all, if he enters into a fleshly union, inflicts a grievous wound on anyone, applies any of the revenues of the colleges to his own use, gives any of the revenues to persons outside the Society, sells the possessions of the houses or colleges, preaches false doctrine.*

Only the General Congregation has power to depose.

"If his faults are not sufficiently great for deposition, other matters should be discussed, so that it may seem that the Congregation was summoned on account of these, and that which concerns the General should be kept secret, and, as far as possible, never be made known. . . . If it should be decided to deprive him of his office, the matter should be discussed with him secretly in order that he may himself resign, so that this may be made public and his sin and his deposition from office on its account may be kept secret." †

"If the faults of which he is convicted are such as not to merit deposition, but only correction, four professed members should be chosen who are entrusted with the duty of considering what punishment is suitable, and if the votes are equal, so that they do not come to an agreement, a fifth, or else three more, should be added." ‡

"If it should happen that the General (on account

* Const. IX., 4; Declar. A—E.
† Const. IX., 5; Declar. C. ‡ IX., 5, 5.

of age, illness, or any other cause) is incapable of governing, a Vicar-General should be appointed, with full powers but without the title of General." *

"The Society is to appoint four Assistants to assist in the affairs of the General. These are to be appointed by the same General Congregation which has elected the General. If one of them should die, the General can nominate another Assistant, but not without the previous consent of all the Provincials." †

The General's activity extends to every domain. Every issue, great or small, is brought to his tribunal for decision or approval. For instance, in a letter addressed on March 12th, 1649, by General Vincent Caraffa to the Provincial of the Upper German Province, Laurence Keppler, we read:

"The admission of Father Francis Strobel to an academic degree is retrospectively approved. During the session of the Provincial Congregation there is to be no display of any kind; at dinner there are to be only two courses, and sweets (*bellaria ex saccaro*) are only to be served when they have been presented as a gift; excursions for amusement are not permitted." ‡

This comprehensive activity of the General is facilitated by the system of reports already described, which grew into a regular network of espionage, with the General in the centre as receiver.

Yet, in spite of his apparent omnipotence, the power of the General, as already shown, is subjected to constant supervision through the Admonitor and Assistants, with a view to the eventual limitation and even abrogation of decisions already taken.

For above the General stands the General Congregation. The subordination of the General to the Congre-

* Const. IX., 5, 6. † IX., 5.

‡ Döllinger-Reusch, *Moralstreitigkeiten*, II., 319 *et seq.*

gation provided for by the Constitutions finds distinct expression in an ordinance of General Peter Beckx of May 11th, 1862.

"The 21st Congregation, in its 20th decree, has handed over to us the whole matter [ordinances as to the publication of books] and commended it most warmly to us. We therefore, desiring to carry out its instructions with suitable zeal (*nos igitur ea qua par est diligentia obsequi cupientes*), are of opinion, etc."*

The General Congregations constitute the highest supervising and legislative court of the Order. The Constitutions say that "they are not to be held at regular intervals, nor yet too often."† They must be summoned for the election or deposition of a General and for the discussion of matters of great importance and permanent interest. The General Congregation is summoned by the General or Vicar-General.

The Congregation is composed of a fixed number of Professed and, "if it thus seem good in the Lord, also some Formed Coadjutors." Usually three persons are sent from each Province to the General Congregation—the Provincial and two others elected by the Provincial Congregation. Besides the three persons elected by the Provincial Congregation, the General and Provincial can appoint two others to attend the General Congregation; but more than five representatives of the same Province may never be present at the General Congregation. If the matter under discussion is the election of a new General, only the Professed have the right to vote and stand for election. Each Professed has one vote at the General Congregation; the General has two. If the votes of the Professed are equal, the Provincials have the casting vote; if they, too, are equally divided, the General has the casting vote.‡

* *Inst. S.J.*, II., 253. † Const. VIII., 2, 3, 4. ‡ *Ibid.*, 3.

Besides the General Congregations, there are also Provincial and Procuratorial Congregations.

The Provincial Congregation. — All the Professed, the heads of houses, Rectors of colleges (even if not Professed), and Procurators—*i.e.* those who control the finances of the Province—are entitled to a seat and vote in these. The Provincial Congregation elects the delegates to the General Congregation, and the Procurators for the Procuratorial Congregation.

Every third year a Congregation of selected Professed, called Procurators (who must not be confused with the Procurators mentioned above), assembles about the General. Each Province sends two Procurators. The Procuratorial Congregation has to decide whether and when the General is to summon the General Congregation.*

Innocent X. decided in 1646 that General Congregations were to be held every nine years, contrary to the Constitutions, which do not appoint them for any definite intervals. In vain the Eleventh and Twelfth Congregations sought the repeal of the Papal decision. It was not till 1746 that it was repealed by Benedict XIV.†

The Provinces are governed by Provincial Superiors, appointed by the General, as a rule for a period of three years. With them he associates five or six Consultors and a *Socius*, who also plays the part of Admonitor. The *Socius* and Admonitor have to supervise the official actions of the Provincial and report on them to the General.

The Settlements (houses, colleges, etc.) are directed by Rectors, Superiors, Presidents; with them, too, Consultors and Admonitors are associated.

The governing power, therefore, rests in an ascending scale in the hands of local Superiors, provincial Superiors

* *Formula Cong. Gen. Provinc. Procurat.*, II., 9 *et seq.*

† *Inst. S.J.*, I., 149, 221.

and the General; and when these are assembled together the General Congregation dominates all with absolute sovereign power.

How carefully the Order proceeds in the nomination of those who are to take part in the government is shown by the "informations" prescribed by the Constitutions. They serve to complete the ordinance already quoted as to supervision and espionage.

"Information about those who seem suited to become Superiors.—The Provincial with his Consultors should read through the list of all the priests in the province, and with their help select those about whom information is to be obtained. When the selection has been made he should obtain information about each in accordance with the scheme. From the answers he receives he should make a short but clear synopsis, adding numbers but omitting names [in the secret reports numbers are used instead of names], in some such fashion as this:

"Concerning Father N—— N——, information received from four fathers. 1. Father Antonius Pamphilius, a Roman, forty years of age, has been in the Society for twenty years; has studied philosophy and theology or morals and made good progress, or slight, or very slight, in the opinion of three persons; exceeding mediocrity in the opinion of two, or in the opinion of all. 2. He has not yet held a post as Superior, or he was Minister of this or that college or house for two years, and in the opinion of three, or two, or one, he proved satisfactory or unsatisfactory. He was Rector of a college to the satisfaction of the external students, in the opinion of all, or some; but not to the satisfaction, or the moderate satisfaction, of our own members. This is the opinion of two, or three, or one, or all. Similarly as to the other offices he has held. 3. The procedure as to the other ten

essential points resembles that in these two. These are :

"i. Whether he has ever been a Superior : where, for how long, in what offices, with what satisfaction to our members and others. ii. How he is disposed towards spiritual things—prayer and other methods of union with God. iii. As to the overcoming of the passions, gentleness, humility, love of poverty, or any peculiar qualities he may possess. iv. As to vigilance, prudence, courage in business. v. As to love, gentleness, reserve in regard to subordinates. vi. As to religious discipline, straightforwardness, and constancy. vii. How well versed in our Constitutions and Rules, and whether he strives, by help of their spirit, to lead our members to perfection, not with human and political wisdom ; and whether he has peculiar views of his own not in conformity with the views of the Society. viii. How he is disposed towards foreign nations and Provinces (of the Order), and whether he has particular feelings towards individuals which would lead him to offend others in his manner of ruling. ix. As to his spiritual zeal and his endeavour to help others, and whether he promotes this endeavour in our members ; as to his obedience towards his Superiors, and as to his own judgment. x. Whether he has ever been known to seek after a post as Superior or to have obtained one. xi. Finally, whether there were any circumstance which would make him fit or unfit to govern.

"The answers to these questions should be read and examined by the Provincial and his Consultors, and after discussion they are to give their views on the separate points, and are to add them to the information in this fashion : To 1. Father Antonius Pamphilius, Roman, forty years old, etc. This information is then to be sent to us [the General]." *

* *Ordinationes generalium*, c. 17, pp. 2, 3, 4 ; *Inst. S.J.*, II., 236 *et seq.*

Similar "informations" are to be obtained about those who are to be admitted to the final degrees of the Society (the Formed Coadjutors and Professed).

One ordinance in this information deserves notice:

"The informations are to be obtained by the Provincials, not only from the Consultors, but also from the older and more prominent fathers, who are best acquainted with the persons proposed, either because they have been their Superiors or because they have entered into confidential relations with them."*

The informations, then, are based on knowledge obtained by the informers in confidential intercourse, and even on knowledge which the Superior possesses of a subordinate who is bound to make his Statement of Conscience to him. Accordingly the informations are derived from communications which ought really to be secured from revelation by the seal of confidence and almost of the confessional.

* *Inst. S.J.*, II., 237.

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